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THE KEMPE GOWDA CHIEFS.

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(*A Paper read before the Mythic Society.*)

KEMPE GOWDA is a great historical name in Mysore and a household word cherished with pride and veneration in the tract of country over which the family held sway. This tract was known as Yelahanka *Nad* or Yelahanka country from the fact that the originator of the family first settled at Yelahanka, now a small town eight miles north of Bangalore. After gradually extending his power all round, Kempe Gowda styled himself Yelahanka *Nadu Prabhu* or the Lord of the Yelahanka country. This title was successively assumed by his successors so that this line of chiefs became known as Yelahanka *Nadu Prabhus*.

These chiefs ruled as vassals of the Vijayanagar kings paying tribute to them until their power waned. Thereafter they paid their tribute to the Mahrattas and the Musalmans before they were finally overthrown by the Mysore Rajas in 1728 A.D.

Tradition says that one Ranabhire Gowda, a native of Alur village near Conjeevaram, migrated with his seven brothers and their families in seven carts and settled down at Avati, a village near Devanahalli, about 25 miles

north-east of Bangalore. The reason for the migration is stated to be, according to one account, famine*; but according to another,† it was for the sake of preserving the purity of his family stock by safeguarding the chastity of his daughter, Doddamma, from the molestations of a vagabond chief who was harassing her that Ranabhire Gowda took to flight. God aided the fugitives in a miraculous way in effecting their escape safely; for when their further progress on the way was barred by the river Palar which was running in full flood, Doddamma invoked the aid of the family God and prayed that if she be virtuous, Mother Ganga might be gracious to her and show her a way out; whereupon the waters subsided and left a dry bed till the family crossed the stream. It then rose in flood again barring the way effectually against the enemies who were pursuing the family.

Whatever the reason for the migration, it appears that sometime after they had thus settled down at Avati village, the brothers separated from one another, each to find out a new settlement for himself. Jaya Gowda, the youngest, settled at Yelahanka and lived there for 15 years, i.e., from A.D. 1418 to A.D. 1433. It is from this Jaya Gowda that the famous Kempe Gowdas were descended.

There are many chiefs in the line who bear the surname "Kempa." There is a reason given for this. Jaya Gowda's son Gidde Gowda had no son and he vowed to his family Goddess Kempamma that if by her grace he were favoured with a son, he would distinguish the child's name by the appellation of her revered name. His prayer was fulfilled by Divine Grace and he named his son Kempananja Gowda.‡ Many of his successors, out of gratitude to the Goddess who saved the family from extinction, similarly adopted the practice of prefixing their name with the word "Kempa" so that persons bearing the same name occur very frequently in the genealogy. But the names of three Kempe Gowdas among all the others stand forth preeminent. For the sake of convenience, they will be designated as Kempe Gowda I, Kempe Gowda II and Kempe Gowda III and though some confusion is caused on account of the identity of names in assigning the achievements of each chief bearing this name to the right man, yet the narrative of each chief's rule as gleaned from the available sources may be stated to be sufficiently accurate for all practical purposes.

Kempe Gowda I.

Kempe Gowda I, who ruled from A.D. 1513 to A.D. 1569, is the most famous of the trio. He was much favoured by the Vijayanagar kings,

* Memoirs of Mysore, Vol. II, *Historical Memoir of Bangalore.*
† Mysore Gazetteer, 1897, Vol. II, p. 20.
‡ Memoirs of Mysore, Vol. II, *Historical Memoir of Bangalore.*

Krishnaraya and Achutharaya. He founded modern Bangalore by erecting a mud fort in A.D. 1537. It is said that one day while he was out on inspection he entered a village called Sivanasamudram, 10 miles from his capital, and struck with the site as being ideally situated for a city, he decided to build his future capital on that spot. The foundation was laid in an auspicious hour and the fort was completed with four batteries. It is said also that at this spot he saw a hare suddenly attack his dog. The strange event at once convinced him that it indicated warrior ground fit to raise a fort upon.* This tradition is not inconsistent with that associated with the founding of capitals of large kingdoms on warrior ground, such as, Dorasamudra, Hadinad, Vijayanagar and elsewhere.

It may be stated here in passing that the Bangalore which he thus built was not the traditional City of Beans, as many imagine. The true "City of Beans" or rather the true "Village of Beans" is a village situated three miles north of the present Bangalore near Hebbal where the village Kodigehalli now stands, which used to be known as "Hale Bengaloor" or old Bangalore. Nor is it likely that the king who was served with cold boiled beans and who named the village after those beans is Kempe Gowda as is generally believed but, if at all, it is Veera Ballala Raya II, a King of the Hoysala-Ballalas, who lived about 300 years before Kempe Gowda. Even this story is now discredited on account of the discovery by Mr. Narasimhachar of an inscription dated about A.D. 900 at Begoor, a village 8 miles south of Bangalore, in which the word Bengaluru or Bangalore occurs, from which he infers that the story which connects Ballala Raya with Bangalore may be given up.† Though the romance that has clung to the name of Bangalore has thus disappeared, yet it is not improbable that there was some glamour connected with the name at that period, because Kempe Gowda preferred to name the new village he founded as Bangalore. It is still pronounced and written in Kannaḍa as Bengalūru (ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು).

The erection of a fort by Kempe Gowda pleased his liege lord Achutha Raya immensely, and he granted him the enjoyment of 12 hoblis (groups of villages) yielding a revenue of 30,000 pagodas. These were annexed to Bangalore and the money derived therefrom was employed for charitable purposes. Kempe Gowda thereafter extended the town, opened out the pettas, encouraged the artisans and merchants to settle there and made it his capital. A pathetic story of self-sacrifice is told in connection with the erection of the main gate of the fort which is worth recording. It appears that the gate used to come down during the night every time it was set up during the day.

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* Memoirs of Mysore, Vol. II, *Historical account of Hallasoor.*

† Mysore Archaeological Report, 1914-15, p. 16.

Kempe Gowda was puzzled as to the reason of this strange phenomenon but one day he had a dream in which he was told that, if he offered a human sacrifice, the gate would stand. He was in a dilemma and was worrying himself as to what to do, when his daughter-in-law, Lakshmamma, who had heard of the dream, offered to sacrifice herself before the gate but the father-in-law would not assent to such a proposal. But Lakshmamma unable to look on indifferently at her father-in-law's uneasiness, worry and loss, stole out once at mid-night and presenting herself before the gate of the fort, offered up prayers to bestow fame on her father-in-law and beheaded herself. Thereupon the gate stood and Kempe Gowda moved by Lakshmamma's godlike nobility of mind and self-sacrifice built a temple for her at Koramangala, a village east of Bangalore, near Ulsoor, installed her effigy there and arranged for her worship which is conducted even to this day.*

Kempe Gowda was a pious man, a great devotee and a generous donor. He built a number of temples at Bangalore which are even to this day great places of pilgrimage and endowed them with liberal grants of villages, lands and *agraharas* for their perpetual worship and up-keep. All of them are wonderful works in design and execution and strike the imagination by their magnitude. The Gavi Gangadharesvara temple and the village of Gavipur in which it is situated were built by Kempe Gowda and also the large perennial lake, Kempambudhi tank near the temple, which he named after his family goddess Kempamma. The picturesque scenery and the natural beauty amidst which, the temple, the lake and the village nestle, arrest the attention of visitors and impress them with the grandeur of the place. The temple is erected over a cave in a rock. In the compound of the temple stand two stone umbrellas, a stone trident and a stone drum representing the emblems of Siva who is worshipped in the temple. They are all over 12 feet high, standing on a rock apparently without any foundation, each being cut out of a single piece of stone, as though to testify to the God's grace with which Kempe Gowda was favoured in erecting the temple.

A little to the right of this temple is the well-known Basavangudi temple where Basavesvara, a colossal bull over 11 feet high is worshipped. It is recumbent in posture and beautifully cut out of one huge rock standing upon another rock. This temple was also built by Kempe Gowda. God is stated to have appeared to him in a dream and desired him to build the temple. There is a small tank behind the temple from which the river Vrishabhavati is supposed to rise and flow from under the feet of the bull westwards, according to an inscription on the pedestal of the bull.† Kempe Gowda threw a bund

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* Mr. V. S. Saminatha Mudaliar's Kannada pamphlet on Ulsoor Temple, 1906, p. 4.

† E.C.Bg. 70. ಈ ಬಸವೇಶ್ವರನ ಪಾದದಲ್ಲಿ ವೃಷಭಾವತಿ ಜನಿಸಿ ಪಶ್ಚಿಮವಾಹಿನಿಯಾಗಿ ನಡೆಯಿತು.

across this river near Gavipur and built the Kempambudhi tank referred to above.

In the vicinity of Basavangudi, Kempe Gowda built four smaller shrines to the guardians of Basavesvara, *viz.*, Dodda Vighnesvara, Anjaneya, Nandisvara and Mallikarjuna. Vighnesvara, the elephant God, is over 13 feet high and is carved on a huge rock ; so also the other Gods which are all of great magnitude.

Besides these temples, the Somesvara temple at Halsoor and the Channigarayaswami temple in the fort were also built by Kempe Gowda. As in the case of the temples at Gavipur and Basavangudi, the Ulsur temple is said to have been built as a result of a dream in which God appeared and directed Kempe Gowda to erect the temple with the money found buried under the earth. Kempe Gowda accordingly dug the earth at the spot mentioned by the God and found a *lingam* and a large sum of money with which he set up the *lingam* and built a temple over it. He allotted liberal grants for the performance of the worship of the *lingam* and built a village round the temple and granted houses to Brahmins.*

Annual festivals which attract a large concourse of people are regularly held in all these temples even to this day. Kempe Gowda endowed them with allowances and liberal grants for meeting the expenses of the annual festive celebrations. In addition to the temples, he constructed three *Agraharams* or rows of dwelling houses as gifts to a number of Brahmins who undertook to offer worship to the Gods above stated.†

He erected the four famous watch-towers, one in each of the four directions of Bangalore, to indicate that the City he intended to build would in time to come extend as far as those towers in all directions—a prediction now come true. The towers occupy such conspicuous positions around Bangalore and are so beautifully built as to arrest the eye at once. One watch-tower is on a rock on the Ulsoor tank bund on the east and another is likewise on a beautiful chain of rocks on the bund of the Kempambudhi tank on the west A third towards the north is on the road to Hebbal near the Hebbal rifle range and the other to the south on a rock in the Lalbagh. At the foot of the watch-tower in the Lalbagh is erected a tablet commemorating Kempe Gowda's reign and his prediction as to the future extension of Bangalore.

The village and the sacred hill of Sivaganga came into Kempe Gowda's possession in A.D. 1550. When Kempe Gowda paid a visit to this sacred hill, he was inspired with pious and devout feelings and built a number of smaller temples, towers, choultries and rest houses and made arrangements for regular

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* *Vide* Footnote on page 730.

† Memoirs of Mysore, Vol. II, *Historical Memoir of Bangalore*.

worship and the celebration of annual festivals. Large improvements to the main temple at much expense were also effected and a big hall was built for the transaction of public business which is even now known as Kempe Gowda's *Hazara* or audience hall. His portrait statue with hands folded in devout fashion is in the principal temple. An inscription, dated A.D. 1608, states that the statue represents " Kempaya Gowda, son of Kempanacheya Gowda of Bengaluru, who is always making obeisance to the feet of the God Gangadharaswami."* Four other inscriptions are to be found on bells presented to the temple by Kempe Gowda and the members of his family. For a description of the Sivaganga Hill, the reader is referred to Mr. Narasimhachar's interesting account in his Annual Report for 1914-15, pages 11 and 12.

Kempe Gowda was apparently in great power and influence by this time for he overstepped his limits as a feudal chief and established a mint and coined the Pagodas (Varahas) of Bhire Devar, his family God, without the permission of the Vijayanagar king, thus incurring the latter's displeasure. He was consequently imprisoned by Rama Rayar at Anegondi for five years, his territory being annexed and otherwise disposed of. But Kempe Gowda regained the favour of the king through his friends and won back his territory after paying a heavy fine for his crime. He lived for five more years after he regained his liberty leading a life of charity and justice as before. He died in A.D. 1569, having ruled for a period of 50 years excluding the period of his imprisonment.

Kempe Gowda was by birth a devotee of Bhire Devar which was his family God but latterly he adopted the worship of Shiva as he considered that there was no difference between Shiva and Bhiredevaru who was the son of Shiva. The fact that he built a temple to Vishnu in Bangalore Fort shows his cosmopolitan spirit. In his time, he suppressed the family custom of cutting off the two ring fingers of the women of his household considering this observance incompatible with his dignity and high respectability as Lord or *Prabhu* of a large tract of country. In order, however, to keep up the traditional custom and to honour the ancient religious observance, he ordered the votive offerings of gold and silver fingers in place of those of flesh and blood.

From the foregoing account it will be seen how great Kempe Gowda I was. From a small settlement in the village of Yelahanka, he enlarged his territories all round reclaiming jungles and founding villages. He also built

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* " ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀ ವಿಜಯಾಭ್ಯುದಯ ಶಾಲಿವಾಹನಶಕ ವರ್ಷಂಗಳು ೧೫೩೧ ನೆಯ ಕೀಲಕ ಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಕಾರ್ತೀಕಬಹುಳ ೧೦ ರಲ್ಲು ಬೆಂಗಳೂರ ಕೆಂಪನಂಜೇಗೌಡರ ಕುಮಾರ ಕೆಂಪಯ್ಯಗೌಡನು ಗಂಗಾಧರಸ್ವಾಮಿಯ:ಪಾದಕ್ಕೆ ಸದಾನಮಸ್ಕಾರ" From the date given, *viz.*, A.D. 1608 it is doubtful whether this statue represents the original Kempe Gowda I, because Kempe Gowda I ruled only till A.D. 1569. But from the pedigree given, *viz*,, that he was the son of Kempanacheya Gowda, it would be Kempe Gowda I, unless there was another Kempanacheya Gowda descended from the original Gowda of the same name.

for himself a capital at Bangalore, laying there the foundation of a big and thriving city. Bangalore began to play a leading part in his day and after being considered to have been an impregnable fortress in important battles, it is still the centre of attraction for business men, tourists, generals and princes and others who come to Bangalore for a change of air as a health resort. Kempe Gowda was a devout and pious soul, favoured by the visions of divine grace. His building activities were not confined to the foundation of cities only. He built and endowed numerous temples, towers, tanks and *Agraharas*. His catholicity was praiseworthy; his rule for an unbroken period of 50 years was marked with charity and justice. It is small wonder then that the memory of such a great man is even now cherished by all people with great respect not different from veneration, and is kept green in the sacred temples and tanks that he built. Though a portrait statue of his is to be found in Sivaganga, yet Bangalore is all the poorer for want of the visible representation of his likeness. Bangalore, which is now the political and commercial capital of the State and which is throbbing with the pulsation of all activities of the modern civilized world, had its future greatness foreshadowed in the vision of the great farmer chief who left a tangible record of it in the four watch-towers he erected in the four corners of Bangalore. It is therefore very desirable that Bangalore should be adorned with his statue. It is a matter of much gratification that Mr. S. K. Narasimhaiah who has recently published a readable account of Kempe Gowda in Kannada is already interesting himself in the movement and it is to be earnestly hoped that his efforts would be crowned with success.

Kempe Gowda II.

The next chief of importance, equally famous for his great and meritorious deeds, is Immadi Kempe Gowda or Kempe Gowda II, son of Kempe Gowda I He is stated to have ruled Bangalore for 55 years and managed both Bangalore and Magadi for 14 years and finally retired to Magadi on his defeat at Bangalore in A.D. 1638 where he died twenty years later.* If this be true, his reign would be an extraordinarily long one of 89 years, i.e., from A.D. 1569 to A.D. 1658, which looks improbable. As if to support this improbability, a palm leaf manuscript recently discovered mentions that Kempe Gowda II was the grandson of Kempe Gowda I and that his father was one Giddappa Gowda who ruled from A.D. 1556 to A.D. 1577.† But the inscriptions that have been discovered so far make no mention of Giddappa Gowda but clearly state that Kempe Gowda II was the son of Kempe Gowda I and the grandson of Kempananje Gowda.‡ As we cannot obviously discard the evidence of

* Memoirs of Mysore, Vol. II, *Historical Memoir of Bangalore and Magadi*.

† "ತಾರ್ವಾತ ವೀರಿ ಕುಮಾರ್ಲು ಗಿಡ್ಡಪ್ಪಗೌಂಡ್ಲು ಪ್ರಭುತ್ವಮುನಕುವಚ್ಚಿ ಧರ್ಮಮುತೋ ರಾಜ್ಯಮೇಲಿ ಶಾಲೀವಾಹನ ಶಕ ೧೪೯೯ ದೋ ಈಶ್ವರ ಸಂವತ್ಸರಮುನಂದು ವೀರಿ ಕೊಮಾಳ್ಳು ಯಿಮ್ಮಡಿ ಕೆಂಪೇಗೌಂಡ್ಲಕು ಪಟ್ಟಮುಗಟ್ಟಿ ದೈವಾಧೀನುಲ್ಯೆರಿ."

‡ E. C. Inscriptions, Magadi 1 and 2 dated A.D. 1630 and A.D. 1670 respectively.

the inscriptions, we cannot but accept that Kempe Gowda II lived and ruled for 89 years unless there be other Kempe Gowdas and Kempananje Gowdas between Kempe Gowda I and Kempe Gowda II.

Immadi Kempe Gowda like his father achieved fame by founding new villages and extending his territory, building more temples and tanks and making gifts of lands and houses to the Brahmins who were to maintain the charities by pious worship. Of these the Kempapura Agrahara near Bangalore and Ivarakandapura Agrahara near Hassarghatta were the most important grants made in A.D. 1605.

Kempe Gowda improved the Somesvara temple built by Kempe Gowda I at Ulsoor by constructing seven enclosures with a shrine in each. He imported the celebrated Jakanachary (probably a descendant of the famous sculptor of the same name) from Beloor, according to tradition, and caused him to carve on all the walls the episode of the marriage of Parvati Devi with Siva called *Girija Kalyana*. The carvings consist of numerous sculptures and figures of the Gods and Goddesses who attended the marriage including Brahma and Vishnu and the thirty-three crores of Devathas or inhabitants of the celestial world. The details of the assemblage at the ceremony are all carved in stone with a wealth of elegance, ornament and realism that one is astonished at the wonderful skill displayed in carving such intricate details on hard stone. Kempe Gowda gave grants for the performance of the worship of the God and granted houses to Brahmins. A sculpture on one of the walls is supposed to be a representation of Kempe Gowda. Mr. Narasimhachar says that the temple is a good specimen of Dravidian architecture with a lofty Gopura.* He dug a tank near Kempapura Agraharam at Bangalore and named it after his forefather Gidde Gowda. This is

* There is a conflict of opinion as to which Kempe Gowda it was that built the Somesvara temple at Ulsoor. In the Memoirs of Mysore, Vol. II, under the chapter headed "Historical Memoir of Bangalore," it is stated that "Emadi Kempe Gowda erected the Someswar Pagoda near Halasoor and endowed it with some allowances" but in the same Memoir under the heading "Historical Account of Halasoor and Pagoda" it is stated that "Kempe Gowda who was the headman of the village of Yellahanka........ ...cut down the jungle............invited the son of Jakanachary ....expended great sum of money on building a Pagod, with seven enclosures with temples." Mr. Rice has followed both these versions ; for on page 22 of the Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. II, 1897, he states that "Immadi (Immadi or the second) Kempe Gowda...........erected the Somesvara pagoda at Halasur," which agrees with the former account while on page 72 of the same volume he has published an account that mainly agrees with the latter account. In a Kannada pamphlet published in 1906 by one Mr. V. S. Saminatha Mudaliar of Ulsoor on "The Origin of the temple of Sri Somesvara Swami of Ulsoor" it is stated that Jayappa Gowda built a wooden temple, that his son Giddappa Gowda pulled down the wooden structure and built only the *Garbhagriha* (inner shrine), that his son Kempananje Gowda erected the present beautiful *Mantapa* and *Navaranga*, and Sri Kamakshiamma's temple and towers, that his son Mummadi (?) Kempe Gowda constructed the *Prakara* (compound) and the main gate and that his son Jaya (?) Kempe Gowda built the lofty tower over the gate. Mr. S. K. Narasimiah on the other hand states in his book

the tank which now supplies water to the Binny Mills. It is never known to have run dry. He also built another tank named *Caranji Kere* or Tank of the Fountain so called from a fountain in the bed of a tank from whence he brought water to the Bangalore Fort. The Fort Centre Road running from the south gate of the fort near the City Institute straight to Basavangudi and Tata's Silk Farm traverses the bed of this tank. In A.D. 1623 he got possession of Magadi and Savandroog in the following manner:—Having learnt that Savandroog and the territory round Magadi which had been administered by the Viceroys of Vijayanagar Kings had been usurped by one Talari Gangappa Naik on the death of Viceroy Chikka Raj who left no male issue, he collected a force, marched against him and killed him and took possession of the country. A story is told that Ganga solicited the aid of Kempe Gowda promising to give him the fort he had built at Magadi, should they both succeed in subjugating the hill fortress at Savandroog. Kempe Gowda agreed to this stipulation and marched with an army from Bangalore in A.D. 1605 and joined Ganga at Gudemaranahalli from whence they proceeded to the lower fort of Magadi where Immadi Kempe Gowda treacherously put Ganga to death in the gate of Jeebi Durvaja. When Ganga was giving up the spirit he told Kempe Gowda that God would take vengeance upon him for deceiving him and asked him to set up a stone image of him on the tomb as a token of his repentance. Accordingly Kempe Gowda had a stone image of Ganga placed on the tomb.*

Kempe Gowda improved the mud fort at Magadi, established a town there on a large scale peopling it with merchants and tradesmen. He repaired the fortress of Savandroog, and strengthened it with an adequate garrison under able commanders. This hill is 7½ miles south-west of Magadi and is 4,024 feet above the sea level. Its bottom is four miles in circumference. It is split into two peaks on top—one white in colour and the other black. There is a Basava on one of the highest peaks. On the top of each peak there are open spaces containing fruit trees and water chasms. The garrison consisted of 8,000 strong under four commanders. He managed this country along with Bangalore for 14 years and thereafter retired to Magadi on the capture of Bangalore by the Muhammadans in A.D. 1638. The cause of the capture is stated to be that a local chief, Raja of Sumakee Bagoor and Kempe Gowda

"Magadi Kempe Gowda", 1922, page 62, that the present large temple, tower, *Prakara* (compound), Navaranga and Sri Kamakshiamma's temple were all built by Immadi Kempe Gowda while Mr. R. Narasimhachar merely says in para 8 of his Annual Report for 1910-11 that "this large temple, which is a good specimen of Dravidian architecture with a lofty *Gopura*, is said to have been built in the 16th century by Kempe Gowda, a sculpture at the end of the wall to the right of the inner entrance being shown as representing him."

* Memoirs of Mysore, Vol. II, *Historical Memoirs of Magadi*.

having quarrelled, the former went away to Bijapur to Ali Adil Shah and brought Ranadulla Khan with a numerous army. The latter besieged Bangalore Fort and took Kempe Gowda prisoner, but he was subsequently released on his promising to pay an annual contribution. Thereupon Kempe Gowda fled with his family from the fort of Bangalore and resided in Magadi under the protection offered by Savandroog. He ruled there for 18 years more paying a yearly tribute to the conquerors of Bangalore. From this time onwards, he and his successors came to be familiarly known as Magadi Kempe Gowda.

After settling down at Magadi he conquered Hulikal, Huliyurdurga, Utridurga, Bairandurga and Kunigal and vanquished Srirangaraya of Seringapatam and brought a large booty of horses and elephants. He built the temples of Narasimhaswami and Veerabhadraswami at the foot of the Savandurga hill to its south and also a town called Nelapattana (meaning town below the hill) around them. Learning that Magadi was a sacred place as having been the abode of a sage Mandavya, he improved the Sri Ranganatha-swami temple. Many inscriptions have been found round about Magadi recording the grants made by him of villages to Brahmins for conducting worship in the various temples. He devoted the revenue derived from his territory for building temples, tanks and other public charities and he ruled the country with great justice and charity and achieved great fame. The statue that is found engraved on one of the stones in the Halsur temple is supposed to be his.

After Kempe Gowda II, there were a few among his successors who were also called Kempe Gowdas. All were equally devoted to God and did many charitable deeds. Of these, his son named Mummadi Kempe Gowda was a most pious man. He gave a number of villages and *Agraharas* in charity to the Brahmins in order that they might continue the worship of the Gods, and granted them several allowances also. He was a very charitable ruler. In his reign a famine occurred and all the ryots flocked to him for protection and said that if no rain came down in a day or two, they would leave the country and take shelter elsewhere. Whereupon he pacified them and prayed to God so intently on behalf of his people that rain came in torrents the next day and relieved the situation. From thenceforward the people called him "Male Kemparaya" (meaning Kempe Gowda who brought down rain) in remembrance of his pious and virtuous character which called forth rain from the clouds. He built a temple Prasanna Veereshvara Swami and a large tank Kempa Sagara near Magadi where there is an inscription dated A.D. 1676 (Ma. 5). The tank has three fine sluices in the form of four-pillared Mantapas. He ruled from A.D. 1658 to 1678.*

* Memoirs of Mysore, Vol. II, *Memoirs of Bangalore and Magadi*.

Kempe Gowda III.

His grandson and the last of the illustrious rulers of this family was Kempe Gowda III or Mummadi Kempaveerappa Gowda to give his full name. He ruled from 1705 A.D. to 1728 A.D. He erected near Magadi the famous temple of excellent workmanship to Eswara in 1712 A.D. Mr. R. Narasimhachar describes this temple in his Report for 1914-15 as follows:—"The Someswara temple situated about 1½ miles to the west of Magadi is now in ruins though built so recently as A.D. 1712 by Mummadi Kempaveerappa Gowda.* A fine Mantapa to the left of the temple is known as Kempe Gowda's *Hazara* or hall and another to the right as dancing girls' *Hazara*. On one of the pillars of the front verandah of the latter hall is a figure about 1½ feet high of an old man wearing a cloak and leaning on a staff. This is said to represent the original Kempe Gowda, the progenitor of the Yelahanka family of chiefs. A long inscription was discovered on the back inner wall of Garbhagriha. It is dated A.D. 1715 and records the grant of four villages by Kempe Gowda III at the time of the setting up of the *linga*....The temple has small towers at the four corners of the enclosure and a large pond, *Kalyani*, at some distance in front. To the south-west of the temple outside the enclosure is a fine shrine of Basava with a good tower situated on a lofty boulder. It is known as Shikara Basava, and is a prominent structure. A flight of 50 steps leads to it and the Nandi is worshipped by Lingayats on marriage and other occasions." Kempe Gowda also installed for worship the images of Cheluvarayaswami in Cheluvarayapete to the south of Magadi with the assistance of Srirangacharya who had come from Srirangam and of Varadarajaswami at Baichapura. The latter was built in order that his mother who was too aged to pay a visit to Kanchi where the principal deity was Varadaraja, might worship the same God here. He established five *lingams* in five different places and granted several allowances for the feasts connected with those Gods. There is a Lingayat Matha known as Mummadi Gowda's Matha in the same village with a *Gaddige* or a tomb of Lingayat Guru in it. Mummadi Gowda most probably refers to Mummadi Kempe Gowda or Kempe Gowda III, who may have built the Matha. It is said that the chiefs of the Yelahanka family built 300 such Mathas in and around Magadi and endowed them. They also built and endowed Siva and Vishnu temples. The Lingayat Matha at Kempasagara is a fine building said to have been built by Kempe

*It is a matter for thankfulness and congratulation, however, that the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore have since granted a sum of Rs.2,000 to supplement the collection of Rs. 3,500 made by a local committee presided over by Mr. Karnic Krishnamurthi Row, who is the descendant of the minister of Kempe Gowda. This money is to be utilized for the repair of the temple and for the improvement of its surroundings. The Government have also sanctioned a grant of Rs. 25 per mensem for the conduct of regular daily worship in the temple.

Gowda. One of the pillars of the front verandah has a figure about 1½ feet high of Kempe Gowda exactly similar to the one at Somesvara temple at Magadi. He granted to His Holiness the Sringeri Swami the village of Seege Kuppa in A.D. 1724. He was a great patron of letters and many Pandits were at his court. A poem called *Veerabhadravijaya* composed by one Ekambara Dikshitar was dedicated to him and contains some account of his family and a description of God Veerabhadra's festival. It is mentioned in this work that Kempe Gowda conquered Shahji and put to flight Kantirava Narasaraja Wadiyar of Mysore.

Being conscious of the increased activity of the Mysore Wadiyars who were gradually extending their territory by vanquishing the local Pallegars and knowing that the Nawabs of Sira had an eye upon his kingdom, Kempe Gowda III extended and improved Nelapattana the town situated in the wilderness to the south of Savandurga and made it almost inaccessible to the enemies. It occupied an area of 10 square miles and was teeming with a varied population and palatial houses of the royal family and other officers extending from the top of one of the peaks down to the Veerabhadra temple at foot. It was defended by three forts and the hill by two forts with numerous bastions. The outermost fort was guarded by eight commanders with all ammunition and army in readiness.

Kempe Gowda usually stayed at Magadi with a small retinue transacting the business of the State but whenever he had an inkling of the approach of the enemy, he used to seek shelter in Nelapattana arriving there by the main gate of the fort towards the north-east. There was only one secret passage upwards to the white peak from Nelapattana which was narrow and precipitous. About half way up the pathway there was a deep chasm crossed by a plank placed across it. In war time, the plank used to be removed leaving the chasm open so that as the enemy approached one by one, he was hurled to the unknown depths. It was a natural obstruction to the ascent of the Droog. The bastions of the fort in the hill command a fine view of the surrounding country offering advantage to reconnoitre the movement of the enemy. Near these bastions, he built powder magazines, armouries, food stores and audience chambers and secreted his invaluable treasures in them. All his faithful officers lived in the third fort of Nelapattana at the entrance of which he built a beautiful temple of Sri Kasi Visvesvara. The entrance to the fort and the Visvesvara temple are intact now but the ruins of the town which reveal its former glory are overgrown with jungle. On the site of the town are even now to be seen a large number of ponds and wells bearing witness to the existence before of dwelling houses of the town.*

* Mysore Archaeological Report and Mr. S. K. Narasimiah's *Kempe Gowda*.

The ancestors of Kempe Gowda were devotees equally of Siva and Vishnu and made no distinction between a Shiva and a Vaishnava. Consequently there was hearty co-operation and unanimity among all classes of his subjects. Kempe Gowda was no exception. But when unfortunately on account of his intimacy with a Lingayat woman by name Bhargavati he became a Lingayat and changed his Gotra from Chaturtha into Sadasiva,* there was a split among some of his high officers, who were of both sects. Dodda Krishnaraja Wadiyar of Mysore became aware of this internal dissension and under the pretext of admiring and rewarding the fine horsemanship of one Muddappa Gowda, the fourth of the Hulikal Chiefs and cousin of Kempe Gowda in the collateral line, sent for him to Mysore and bestowed upon him the name of Muddukrishnaraja Gowda after his own royal name and directed him to pay him a tribute of 500 pagodas. Shortly after, the Mysore king sent an invitation to Kempe Gowda himself to go to Mysore with a white elephant which he had in his possession but Kempe Gowda refused to do so.† Dodda Krishnaraja Wadiyar thereupon sent an army in secret under Dalvai Devarajaiyya who, with the help of the treacherous officers, stole into the fort by making a hole in the wall near Channaraya's gate and captured Kempe Gowda's most faithful and capable commander by name Veerabhadra Naik. The Gowda's army fought valiantly but to no purpose. Kempe Gowda who was in Magadi having learnt of the capture of Veerabhadra Naik entered Nelapattana through the secret door and prepared himself to fight the Mysore army but was captured by the Dalvai. Then the Gowda's armies stationed all over the fort, joined together and fought gallantly but being unable to get reinforcements which the Mysore army easily got, were utterly defeated. The Mysore Dalvai then took possession of Nelapattana and Savandroog and carried away all the treasures accumulated there for over 200 years and removed Kempe Gowda, his faithful commanders and some chief officers and their families to Seringapatam in 1728 A.D. and put them all in restraint. He was never released and thus ended the great chief's rule.

The Magadi territory became Mysore territory thenceforward. Nelapattana became a heap of ruins. Kempe Gowda's piety, devotion and selfless rule were so beneficent that the site occupied by Nelapattana though surrounded by a fearful forest is even now a smiling land with trees and flowers, roots and edibles, the abode of many varied birds, and a quiet retreat. Annual feasts are held in honour of Gods Veerabhadra and

* "ತರ್ವಾತ ಕೊಂತಕೊಂತ ಕಾಲಮುನ ಪೈನ ಯಿಾಕೆಂಪವೀರಪ್ಪಗೌಂಡ್ಲು ಲಿಂಗಾಯಿತ ಶಿವಭಕ್ತುರಾಲೈನ ಭರ್ಗಾವತಿ ಯನೆದಾನ್ನಿ ಯುಂಚುಕೋನಿ ಕೊನ್ನಿ ದಿನಮುನಪೈನ ಮುರಗಿವಡೇರನೆ ಜಂಗಮುನಿಚಾತ ಲಿಂಗಧಾರಣಮು ಚೇಯಿಂಚಿಕೋನಿರಿ. ಮೊದಟಯುಂಡಿನ ಚತುರ್ಥಗೋತ್ರಮುನೇದಾನ್ನಿ ವಿಡಿಚಿ ಸದಾಶಿವಗೋತ್ರಮುನಿ ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧಿ ಬೊಂದುತೂ ವಚ್ಚಿರಿ"— *Telugu Palm-leaf Manuscript.*

† Telugu Palm-leaf Manuscript.

Narasimhaswami and many devotees flock there. The whole tract appeals to the imagination by its past glory and its present peaceful repose. The site of the Droog and the ruins of Nelapattana impress one with the greatness of Kempe Gowda, his heroism and prowess and inspires pride, reverence and patriotism bringing to mind the great deeds wrought by the heroic chief.*

Autograph Letter.

I have been lucky in discovering a palm-leaf manuscript containing a pathetic letter written by Kempe Gowda III from his prison at Seringapatam to his cousin Krishnaraja Gowda of Hulikal near Magadi and sent to him by a confidential servant. Considering the greatness of the chief and the miserable plight to which he was reduced, the pathos of the letter is really heart-rending. It runs as follows :—

> "Our blessings to you. We are doing well at Seringapatam up to this 10th lunar day of the dark fortnight of *Phalguna*. Write to us about the welfare of you all. As you know we are subjected to this misfortune by the sport of God Somanatha. Our health is at present in a bad state and there is every likelihood of death overtaking us soon. There does not appear to be any chance of recovery. As you are the only heir in our family, I send you by Soma the chief insignia of royalty. Be prudent and after making enquiries as to the state of our health, have the necessary obsequies done. Other matters that ought not to be committed to writing you will learn from Soma. Send some of your friends here.—*Kempayya*."

The signature of the chief "Kempayya" occurs at the end. The palm-leaf was sent to me by Mr. Chikkappayya, the present Pallegar of Hulikal, who is the direct descendant of Krishnaraja Gowda to whom the letter is addressed. It is a valuable find and a priceless heirloom. I have shown it to Mr. Narasimhachar who has translated and published it in his Annual Report for 1922 on page 14. This record wakes up so many memories of a glorious past in which the three illustrious chiefs played such noteworthy parts that it cannot but be prized as a treasure by the generations to come. I intend therefore to present it to the local museum in the name of Mr. Chikkappayya for preservation as a precious relic of the ancient history of Mysore.†

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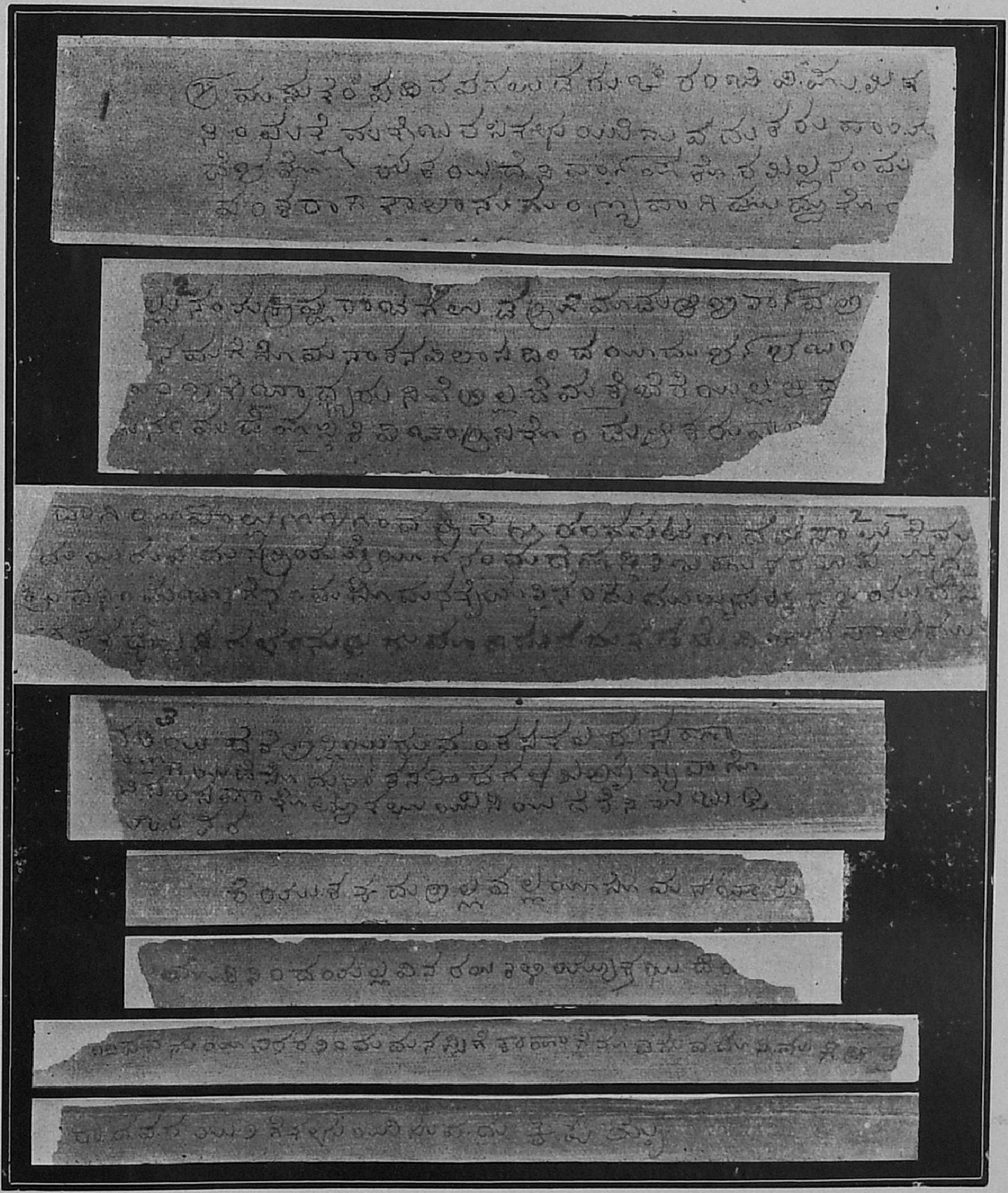
* Telugu Palm-leaf Manuscript and Mr. S. K. Narasimiah's *Kempe Gowda*.

† "ಶ್ರೀಮತು ಕೆಂಪವೀರಪ್ಪ ಗವುಡರು ಚಿರಂಜೀವಿ ಹುಲಿಕಲ್ಲ ನಮ್ಮ ಕೃಷ್ಣರಾಜ ಗವುಡರಿಗೆ ಮಾಡುವ ಆಶೀರ್ವಾದ ಅದಾಗಿ॥ ಈ ಫಾಲ್ಗುಣ ಬ॥ ೧೦ವರಿಗೆ ಶ್ರೀರಂಗಪಟ್ಟಣದಲ್ಲಿ ನಾವು ಕ್ಷೇಮದಲ್ಲಿ ಇದ್ದೇವೆ ಅಲ್ಲಿ ಇರುವಂತ ಸಕಲರು ಸಹ ನಿಮ್ಮ ಕ್ಷೇಮಕ್ಕೆ ಬರಸಿ ಕಳುಹಿಸುವದು. ತರುವಾಯ ನಮಗೆ ಸೋಮನಾಥನ ವಿಲಾಸದಿಂದ ಈ ದುರ್ದಶ ಬಂದು ಇರುವುದು ಸರಿಯಷ್ಟೆ. ಈಗ ನಮ್ಮ ದೇಹಸ್ಥಿತಿ ಬಹುತರ ಉಪದ್ರವವಾಗಿ ಇದೆ. ಸೋಮನಾಥನಪಾದಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಐಕ್ಯವಾಗೋಹಾಗೆ ತೋರುತ್ತ ಇದೆ. ನಿರ್ವಾಹ ತೋರಲಿಲ್ಲ ನಮ್ಮವಂಶಕ್ಕೆ ಬಾಧ್ಯರು ನೀವೆ ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಮತ್ತೆ ಬೇರೆ ಇಲ್ಲ. ಆದ್ದರಿಂದ ನಿಮ್ಮಬಳಿಗೆ ನಮ್ಮ ಸೋಮನ ಕೈಯಲ್ಲಿ ನಮ್ಮ ಮುಖ್ಯ ಪಟ್ಟದ ಆಯುಧ ಶಿಖಿಸರ ಸಹ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಕಳುಹಿಸಿ ಇದ್ದೇನೆ ನೀವು ಬುದ್ಧಿವಂತರಾಗಿ ಕಾಲಾನುಗುಣ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಇದ್ದುಕೊಂಡು ನಮ್ಮ ದೇಹಸ್ಥಿತಿ ವಿಚಾರಿಸಿಕೊಂಡು ಆತರುವಾಯ ಆಗತಕ್ಕ ಕೆಲಸಗಳನ್ನು ಆಗಮಾಡಿಸುವದು. ಕಡಿಮೆ ವಿಚಾರ ವಾಲೆಮುಖಾಂತರ ಬರೆಯುತಕ್ಕದ್ದು ಅಲ್ಲವಲ್ಲ. ಈ ಸೋಮನ ಬಾಯಿಮಾತಿನಿಂದ ಎಲ್ಲ ವಿವರವು ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ವಿವರ ನಿಮ್ಮ ಮನಸ್ಸಿಗೆ ತರೋಹಾಗೆ ಮಾಡಿಸುವದು. ನಿಮಗೆ ಆಪ್ತರಾದವರನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿಗೆ ಕಳುಹಿಸುವುದು. —ಕೆಂಪಯ್ಯ."



Autograph Letter of Kempe Gowda III

Written from his prison at Seringapatam about A.D. 1728

KEMPE GOWDA'S TOWER
ONE OF THE FOUR TOWERS BUILT BY KEMPE GOWDA I
TO MARK THE LIMITS OF BANGALORE CITY
This one is on the Ulsoor Lake to the North-East

Genealogy of the Chiefs.

A brief reference to the pedigree and chronology of the Yelahanka chiefs may now be made. As has already been said, much confusion is caused by the chiefs bearing the same name so that we are apt to go wrong not only in making up an accurate succession list but also in referring the various incidents and events in the lives of the Kempe Gowdas to the particular chief to whom they properly belong. But from the fresh information that has come to hand by means of two records that throw a flood of light in this respect, a fairly accurate list may be attempted. One of the records is known as " The Memoirs of Mysore, Vol. II" written in 1807 which records the oral tradition extant at the time. It contains a fairly exhaustive account of the Memoirs of Bangalore and Magadi and gives the line of chiefs who ruled at Bangalore and Magadi before those places passed into foreign hands. The pedigree given in this Memoir continues the line given in the Mysore Gazetteer which is the other record by three more chiefs. In the Mysore Gazetteer the line starts from Jaya Gowda (A.D. 1418-1433) and goes down four steps to Kempe Gowda II with Gidde Gowda (A.D. 1433-1443), Kempananche Gowda (A.D. 1443-1513) and Kempe Gowda I (A.D. 1513-1569) intervening. But in the Bangalore and Magadi Memoirs, the line is further continued three steps down from Kempe Gowda II (A.D. 1569-1658), *viz.*, Mummadi Kempe Gowda (A.D. 1658-1678), Doddaveerappa Gowda (A.D. 1678-1705) and Mummadi Kempaveerappa Gowda (A.D. 1705-1728) with whom the line ended. Thus according to these two records the line consisted of 8 chiefs beginning from Jaya Gowda in A.D. 1418 and ending with Mummadi Kempaveeerappa Gowda in A.D. 1728 giving a total of 310 years during which the chiefs held sway. This pedigree tallies with that given in a Sanscrit work called *Veerabhadra Vijaya*, composed by Ekambara Dikshit who was the court poet of Mummadi Kempaveerappa Gowda, the last chief of the line, though it makes no mention of the first three chiefs mentioned in the above records. It corroborates also the pedigree made up from the inscriptions by Mr. Narasimhachar and published on page 14 of the Annual Archaeological Report for 1922 so that with the help of all these four records we can draw up an accurate genealogical table of the Chiefs who actually ruled. The pedigree given in *Veerabhadra Vijaya* gives a few more details of the brothers of the ruling chiefs which serve the important purpose of interpreting some inscriptions in which the names of these brothers appear. The full genealogical tree of the chiefs as revealed by these up-to-date discoveries is therefore as follows :—

Jaya Gowda (A.D. 1418-1433)
|
Gidde Gowda (A.D. 1433-1443)
|
Kempa Nanche Gowda (A.D. 1443-1513)
|
Kempe Gowda I or Hiriya Kempe Gowda (A.D. 1513-1569)
|
Immadi Kempe Gowda or Kempe Gowda II (A.D. 1569-1658)

- Mummadi Kempe Gowda or Male Kemparaya (A.D. 1658-78)
- Halasa
- Immadi Hiriya Kempe Gowda mentioned in E.C. 12 Kunigal 12

Sons of Mummadi Kempe Gowda:

- Immadi Kempe Gowda
- Dodda Veerappa Gowda (A.D. 1678-1705)
    - Mummadi Kempaveerappa Gowda or Kempe Gowda III (A.D. 1705-1728).
- Halasa
- Chennaveera mentioned in E.C. Bangalore 126

I secured recently through the help of a friend a palm-leaf manuscript consisting of eight leaves, the first six written in Telugu and the remaining two in Kannaḍa. The former gives the pedigree of the Yelahanka chiefs with some details of each chief. But the pedigree and the dates do not at all tally with those given in the Gazetteer, Inscriptions, Memoirs or *Veerabhadra Vijaya* referred to above. Mr. Narasimhachar to whom I showed the manuscript discusses this question on page 15 of his Report for 1922 and also gives the principal contents of the manuscript.

Collateral Branch of the Yelahanka Family.

However, some important information which was not hitherto known has come to light by means of this manuscript. It is that—(1) Tiruvenkatacharya, the family guru of the chiefs, became a Sanyasi under the name of Dodda Parakalaswami and resided in the Matha at Seringapatam and (2) that Immadi Kempe Gowda finding that there was some misunderstanding between his two sons Mummadi Kempe Gowda and Honnappa Gowda divided the kingdom between the two and made the latter ruler of Hulikal in 1634 A.D.* The family thenceforward divided into two branches, the Hulikal branch

* ಮಾಗಡೀ ಇಮ್ಮಡೀ ಕೆಂಪೇಗೌಡರಿಗೆ ಮುಮ್ಮಡಿ ಕೆಂಪೇಗೌಡರು ಹೊನ್ನಪ್ಪಗೌಡರು ಇವರಿಬ್ಬರು ಮಕ್ಕಳಿದ್ದರು. ಹೊನ್ನಪ್ಪಗೌಡರಿಗೂ ಇವರ ಅಣ್ಣಂದಿರಿಗೂ ಮನಸ್ತಾಪವುಂಟಾದ್ದರಿಂದಾ ಇಮ್ಮಡೀ ಕೆಂಪೇಗೌಡರು ತಮ್ಮ ಮಾಗಡೀ ಅರವತ್ತುಸಾವಿರ ಶೀಮೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹುಲಿಕಲ್ಲು ಬೈರವನದುರ್ಗದ ಅಯಿ:ದುಸಾವಿರ ಶೀಮೆಯನ್ನು ಭಾಗಾಮಾಡಿ ಹೊನ್ನೇಗೌಡರಿಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಕೆಲವು ದಿವಸಗಳಮೇಲೆ ಸ್ವರ್ಗಸ್ತರಾ:ದರು.—*Kannada Palm-leaf Manuscript.*

becoming a collateral branch of the Yelahanka family. The pedigree of this collateral line as given in the Kannaḍa portion of the palm-leaf and which had not been known and recorded before is as follows :—

Honnappa Gowda (A.D. 1634-1672)
|
Ankana Gowda (A.D. 1672-1690)
|
Giriappa Gowda (A.D. 1690-1718)
|
Muddappa Gowda *alias* Muddukrishnaraja Gowda (A.D. 1719-1761)
|
Muddappa Gowda (A.D. 1761-1805)
|
Giriappa Gowda.

The present survivor of this branch is Mr. Chikkappayya who calls himself Pallegar of Hulikal from whom this palm-leaf and the autograph letter of Kempe Gowda referred to above were obtained.

Another fact which is brought prominently to notice in this palm-leaf manuscript is that the chiefs though born as disciples of Bhiredevar and Saivites had come under the influence of Vaishnavites so that Immadi Kempe Gowda built the central hall of the Ranganatha temple at Magadi at the instance of his family guru Srinivasadesikacharya. Honnappa Gowḍa of Hulikal branch had Annayyacharya as his guru. Dodda Veerappa Gowda made arrangements for the conduct of pooja by Brahmins at the instance of his guru Tiruvenkatacharya. Kempaveerappa Gowda set up Cheluvarayaswami at Cheluvarayapete to the south of Magadi with the assistance of Srirangacharya and built the temple of Varadarajaswami at Baichapura with the assistance of his guru Raghavacharya.*

On the whole, it may be said that the discovery of the palm-leaf manuscript and the palm-leaf letter of Kempe Gowda has served to extend our knowledge of the evolution of the religious faith of the chiefs, of the causes that led to the downfall of the line and of the existence of the collateral line of the family that survives to this day. The manuscript further enlightens us that Hyder levied a tribute of 1,000 pagodas from the son of Muddukrishnaraja Gowda and Tippu annexed the territories in A.D. 1793 but on the fall of Seringapatam in A.D. 1799 Dewan Purnaiya granted him in A.D. 1804 a Sannad to the effect that land of the revenue value of 24 pagodas was bestowed upon him. This grant was renewed and perpetuated to his son and successors and is even now in the enjoyment of the family of which Mr. Chikkappayya of Hulikal is the present survivor.

* Telugu and Kannada palm-leaf manuscripts.

Authorities.

The only source of information about the Kempe Gowdas that was hitherto available was the Mysore Gazetteer of Mr. Lewis Rice published in 1897. The account given there is necessarily short and is based on oral tradition and on the limited information furnished by some inscriptions which mention the names of some members of the pedigree and record the grant of lands, etc., for the worship of the Gods. Since then Mr. Narasimhachar made further investigations while on tour in Magadi and Bangalore districts and secured additional information by collecting evidence on the spot. Some new inscriptions, copper-plate grants and manuscripts were also secured by him. To his research we owe the detailed description of the temples built at Magadi and Savandroog and the pedigree made up by the inscriptions as given in his Annual Reports for 1914-15 and 1921-22. From the Sanscrit work called " Veerabhadra Vijaya " composed by Ekambara Dikshitar of which mention has already been made, corroborative evidence as to the genealogy of the chiefs has been secured. From the " Memoirs of Mysore " described as " Extracts from the Memoir of a geographical, statistical and historical survey of the Mysore Dominions commenced on the partition of Mysore in 1799 " and stated to have been recorded in 1807 much detailed information as to the doings of the chiefs, and their chronology has been secured. These records together with the palm-leaf manuscripts obtained from Mr. Chikkappayya of Hulikal referred to above have enabled us to recount the outstanding events in the reign of each of the leading Kempe Gowdas and to give a fairly complete genealogical tree of the family from its origin down to its overthrow, authenticated by dates not hitherto available. The accounts furnished by these sources have been further supplemented by some more material gleaned from the Kannaḍa work on Kempe Gowda published this year by my friend Mr. S. K. Narasimiah, the well-known enterprising local merchant. The description of the town of Nelapattana and of Magadi built and fortified and extended by Kempe Gowdas II and III are taken from his work.

Conclusion.

But with all the new information that these records have furnished, it must be admitted that a history of the period in the modern sense of the term giving an account of how Kempe Gowda ruled, how the people fared under his regime and the nature of the society in his time is yet to be reconstructed. No doubt the country was in a primitive condition then and each Kempe Gowda was busy clearing the jungles, founding new villages and consolidating the territory gained. The chiefs employed the wealth amassed by them in the erection of temples, tanks and *agraharams* that stand even

now as monuments of their piety and devotion. Unlike other heroes whose career is only too familiar to us in history who succeeded in founding kingdoms by leading mainly a life dedicated to plunder, rapine, force and terrorism, this House has been distinguished for piety, charity and generosity no less than for personal prowess and martial spirit. Leading peaceful and pious lives, dedicating their service to the God of their adoration and favoured by His grace, owing dutiful allegiance to the sovereign power and winning its approbation and reward in return for faithful service rendered, the Kempe Gowdas have won an enduring name and fame as testified to by the many rock-cut temples, caves, tanks, forts and inscriptions they have left behind them as monuments of their beneficent rule.

MYSORE AND THE DECLINE OF THE VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE.

(*Continued from the last issue.*)

BY DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI IYENGAR, M.A., PH.D.

(*A Paper read before the Mythic Society.*)

The Death of Venkata, and the War of Succession.

THE emperor Venkata died in A.D. 1614 and this brought about a war of succession which arose out of Venkata's nomination of his nephew as his successor. Venkata had married four or five queens and none of them had a son. One of them, however, a princess of the family of the Gobbūri chiefs, seems to have brought up a boy-child and claimed him as her own son. The boy was allowed to grow up without Venkata making any effort to prevent the growth of this imposition as he seems never to have believed that the boy was her own son. About the time of his death he nominated his nephew Śrīranga, who seems to have already for some time enjoyed the title Chikka-rāya or Yuva-rāja (heir-apparent). This Śrīranga was the second son of Venkata's elder brother Rama, the viceroy of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam. He seems to have remained at court ever since the death of his father and it is just possible he was nominated Chikka-rāya while yet the putative boy had not come into existence. However, it happened that Venkata allowed the pretence in regard to the latter to be kept up without putting an end to it in time. His nomination of Śrīranga therefore inevitably led on to the war of succession as soon as some powerful person or party should espouse the cause of the putative son. The Gobbūri chief Jaggarāya (not to be confounded with Jagadēvarāya 1) seems to have been either a brother or the father of the Gobbūri queen of Venkata. He seems to have taken up the cause of the putative prince, but was unable apparently to assert his claims with success while Venkata was alive or even soon after. Śrīranga therefore quietly succeeded to the throne and perhaps ruled for a year, it could hardly be longer. Jagga had by this time gained the support of some adherents and when he was ready he managed to confine the emperor and his family composed of his wife, three boys and two girls very closely in his palace and arranged to get all of them assassinated. A loyal officer Yāchama by name, somehow got wind of this plot and began to counteract this move, at least to the extent of securing one of the sons alive, so as to thwart Jagga of the fruits of his treacherous deed, if he could not prevent

the deed itself. He was not apparently in possession of sufficient strength to prevent the atrocity, but succeeded in smuggling the second of the boys out of prison through the assistance of the washerman in the service of the royal family. Yāchama looked out for assistance and could find only the Nāyak of Tanjore sufficiently well-disposed to the emperor to champion the cause of the young boy as against the traitor Jagga and his allies, prominent among whom were the Nāyaks of Madura and Ginjee. Yāchama therefore carried the prince successfully into safety to Tanjore; prince Raghunātha of Tanjore moving forward to receive him at Kumbhakonam took him to his father's capital. All the chiefs of the empire with the exception of Mysore and Ikkēri took up the cause of the traitor Jagga, whose allies included a contingent of the Portuguese as well. Tanjore alone espoused the cause of the emperor and a hard-fought battle at a place called Toppūr, a little way above the Grand Anicut of modern times, was fought. The imperial cause won and the fugitive prince Rama was anointed emperor at Kumbhakonam by Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore.

In this war of succession Mysore remained discreetly aloof. Two alternative explanations of this aloofness seem possible. One is a feeling of disaffection towards the empire, for which *prima facie* there is no reason. The second explanation may perhaps be that Mysore had to keep on the watch against the movements of Bijapur in the north to take an active part on one side or the other in the war of succession. This was probably the more likely explanation as Rāja Oḍeyar had really every reason to be grateful to the emperor and had apparently nothing to gain by acting against the emperor. Whatever was the reason Mysore kept out of the war. Rāja Oḍeyar, the ruler of Mysore, quietly went on consolidating his newly acquired territory, and when he died later on, in the reign of emperor Rama, he bequeathed to his successor Chāmaraja the nice point for decision as to what exactly his attitude should be towards the emperor. The succession war left the empire greatly weakened; and the emperor with the assistance of Tanjore had to carry on a war against each one of the principal chieftains of the empire to bring him into allegiance with but little success as the disintegrating tendencies were too strong for his immediate success to have lasting influence. Chāmarāja Oḍeyar carried on the consolidation work of his grandfather a stage further by taking advantage of the distress in which the empire was during the whole period of his reign. He gradually extended his conquests across the Kāvēri and after a series of wars acquired practically the whole of the viceroyalty of Channapaṭṭaṇa. This he was enabled to do as Rama's successor Venkata, another collateral cousin made the empire, if anything, weaker. The aggressive activity of the Muhammadans grew with years and

the union of the Channapaṭṭaṇa viceroyalty with the territory of Mysore had the advantage at any rate of placing a strong power on the flank of march of aggressive Bijapur. With the accession of Kanṭhīrava Narasa, Mysore activities grew more vigorous and he carried the frontiers of Mysore past the foothills on the south coming directly into contact with the territory of the Nāyaks of Madura, thus initiating the period of constant war between Mysore and Madura. A few years after the accession of this Mysore ruler the feeble emperor Venkata died, and Śrīranga, the third of the name in imperial succession ascended the throne. On his accession the empire adopted a more vigorous policy which carried him successfully forward during the first five or six years.

Sriranga, and his effort to revive the dying Empire.

It was this Śrīranga, according to Jesuit testimony, that could look a little farther ahead and plan out a policy for bringing about a union of all the great feudatories in an effort to bring about a combination for the purpose of reviving the somewhat moribund empire. The Golkonda and Bijapur activities which had become fitful owing to the Moghul activities in the Dakhan had now begun to be somewhat more vigorous and the periodical invasions against Penugonḍa had made the position of the imperial headquarters at Penugonḍa wellnigh impossible. Śrīranga's predecessor Venkata, it seems, was responsible for the transfer of capital from Penugonḍa to Chandragiri. This meant that Chandragiri became the habitual residence of the emperor. It was probably in this Venkata's reign that Chāmarāja of Mysore was allowed to absorb the Channapaṭṭaṇa viceroyalty without a protest from the emperor. When Śrīranga therefore ascended the throne he had to curb the ambition of Mysore and keep it within bounds. He could perhaps be certain only of the active loyalty of Tanjore. Ginjee was fast falling into the hands of the Muhammadans and Shahji's activities on behalf of Bijapur were already bearing substantial fruit. He had therefore to work vigorously for securing the support of the Nāyak of Madura, at the time the great Tirumala Nāyaka. The success or failure of the imperial ambition for Śrīranga depended upon the attitude of Tirumala towards Mysore on the one side and towards the empire on the other. At this critical juncture for the emperor, Mysore proved to the country a broken reed to lean upon and Madura deliberately adopted a policy of hostility to the empire. Śrīranga, the emperor apparently began his reign under hopeful auspices notwithstanding the efforts of Golkonda to dispossess the empire of as much of its territories in the Carnatic below the ghats as she could lay hands on. From the commencement of the seventeenth century the struggle had been in the region between Krishna and the Pālār. The Golkonda aggressions began

with the struggle for the possession of the Koṇḍavīḍu district soon after the death of the great Krishnadēva and gradually extended in two directions, one along the coast as far as Udaiyagiri and Nellore, and another through the interior, which had advanced successfully as far as Gaṇḍikoṭṭa from which Penugoṇḍa itself could be attacked. The accession of the last Mir Jumla to power in Golkonda was marked by more vigour in the operations in this region. Mir Jumla was so far successful in his efforts that he began to regard this part of the Carnatic almost as his own fief, and made every effort to extend it not only in the south, but even in the north, so much so that the province actually extended from Rajahmundri southwards to Kāḷahasti. This extension of the territory of Golkonda made the position of the emperor in Chandragiri itself dangerous and the capital had again to be shifted to Vellore. Early in the reign af Śrīranga Vellore had to stand a siege in which he had the assistance of Sivappa Nāyaka of Ikkēri, in all probability under the rule of his predecessor. For the time the Golkonda forces were beaten back from the walls of Golkonda, Śrīranga felt he could go farther afield. It was apparently then that he clearly adumbrated his policy of bringing all the greater viceroys under allegiance to him in a common effort at dislodging Golkonda and Bijapur from their newly-won possessions.

During the period that Golkonda was advancing along the coast, Bijapur had constantly striven to acquire possession of the southern Mahratta country and extended her authority along the coast through the Malai and Tuḷu Rājyas of Vijayanagar. They successfully extended their overlordship as far south as Mangalore in this region. They then advanced through the plain districts of Mysore forming the province of Sira which was gradually extended southwards to take in practically the whole of the districts of Tumkur and Kolar and thus opened the way for the further advance into the plains of Arcot or further south according to circumstances. The accession of Shahji to the councils of Bijapur at this time supplied the organizing capacity that before was wanting and the efforts of Golkonda thereafter became more sustained and assumed a definite shape. About the time that Golkonda laid siege to Vellore, Bijapur seems to have made a dash upon Ginjee and this combined action seems to have been brought about through the countenance, if not the active support, of the Nāyak of Madura. That probably is what the Jesuit letters complain of as the unpatriotic and ungrateful attitude of Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura. This was further complicated by Moghul operations in the Dakhan which assumed greater vigour in the later years of the reign of Shah-Jehan when Aurangazeb became viceroy of the Dakhan. It is during this period of respite when the attention of Golkonda and Bijapur alike were turned towards the Dakhan that Śrīranga could formulate his

schemes with good chances of success. Such a scheme was frustrated by what took place in Bijapur and Golkonda on the one side, and Madura on the other. Through the efforts of the enterprising minister Mir Jumla a marriage alliance was brought about between Golkonda and Bijapur so as to enable the two to act together in the pursuit of a common policy and consequently, Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura, instead of supporting the emperor wholeheartedly in his effort at reviving the empire, found it prudent in the circumstances to thwart the ambitions of the emperor and play into the hands of Bijapur, out of hostility to the advance of Mysore. The emperor therefore found too little support among his great viceroys for the plans that he had formed of reuniting the empire, and, finding that nobody was hearty in his support, he had to spend a few years as a fugitive in the forests on the borders of the territory of the Nāyak of Tanjore, wherefrom he appealed to Mysore for assistance. According to Jesuit authority the Mysore Rāja gave him asylum and treated him well for a few years, not to further the objects of the emperor, but to satisfy his own ambitions. The emperor had therefore to flee again for safety, which safety he found ultimately in the court of the usurper Śivappa Nāyaka of Ikkēri.

The relation between Madura and Mysore, the guiding feature of this period of history.

During the whole period of activity of emperor Śrīranga, the ruler of Madura was Tirumala Nāyaka and his successor Chokkanātha. Mysore was under Kanṭhīrava Narasa and Doḍḍadēvarāja. The Nāyakships of Ginjee and Tanjore were gradually losing their importance; the first of these was occupied by the Bijapur troops and were handed over to the administration of Shahji; the second was under Vijayarāghava Nāyaka, with whom ended the Nāyakship, through a war that came on between Tanjore and Madura early in the reign of Chokkanātha. This war put an end to the Nāyakship of Tanjore, which ultimately passed into the hands of the Mahrattas as well. During the whole of this period Madura was the leading southern power as yet nominally feudatory to the empire, but hankering after complete independence. This idea of independence seems to have taken hold of the Nāyaks of Madura beginning Muttuvīrappa onwards. We have the earliest indication of this tendency soon after the accession of emperor Venkata I, in whose reign Madura found occasion more than once to exhibit this tendency. One such occasion led to the practical independence of the Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa viceroyalty and ultimately to the foundation of the state of Mysore under the present dynasty. Throughout this period Tanjore stood fast in her loyalty to the empire, and when the war of succession followed soon after the death of Venkata, Tanjore was practically the sole power that stood loyal. Among the

various chieftains who ranged themselves against the empire, the Nāyak of Madura was the leader. It had come therefore to be more or less the accepted policy of Madura to be hostile to the emperor long before the accession of Śrīranga. In the interval between the war of succession and the accession of Śrīranga, Bijapur aggressions through what is now the state of Mysore had become a normal feature and by opposing this aggression of the Mussalman power Mysore grew gradually in power, so that when Chāmarāja slowly absorbed the viceroyalty of Channapaṭṭaṇa, the empire looked on, as a strong Mysore was an effective barrier to a considerable extent against the aggressive activities of Bijapur. The empire had its own wars to carry on to keep the aggressions of Golkonda in check. Golkonda was so far successful that during the first decade of Śrīranga's rule she had mastered possession of the whole of the coast region extending almost from Madras northwards, and the empire was confined to the central block of territory round Vellore and Chandragiri. Mysore stood firm perhaps as far east as the river Kāvēri. Between the frontier of Mysore and the actual boundary of the imperial territory such of it as remained under the emperor—was a stretch of country which had come into the possession of Bijapur under the administrative organization of one of their ablest viceroys, Shahji the Mahratta. It was about this time that Śrīranga matured his plan of uniting the remnants of the Vijayanagar empire with a view to effective action against the aggressive Muhammadan powers of the north, a policy which was not without elements of success in it, if only Mysore and Madura could have thrown in their lot loyally in support of the empire. The main question to decide therefore for the two great feudatories of Śrīranga was, what exactly was to the best interests of each in the circumstances. The alternatives before them were to throw in their lot with the empire and make a common stand, or each one to pursue its own policy to serve its own particular interests and leave the empire to its fate. Whichever of the alternatives happened to be chosen by the parties concerned, the ultimate idea must have been the ensuring of their existence and prosperity. Would Mysore live and thrive better as a member of the empire of Vijayanagar or as a separate state ? Would Madura go on and prosper better as a member of the empire or by herself alone ? These were the questions that had to be answered in the adoption of a definite policy. In order to answer these satisfactorily, they would have had to estimate the possibilities of success of the combination to bring about which Śrīranga was then labouring. Any combination that the Hindu powers might effect would bring on as a natural consequence a combination of the two Muhammadan states of Bijapur and Golkonda. As a matter of fact through the exertions of Mir Jumla a marriage alliance had been brought about between the states,

and the prospects were that they would adopt a common policy against the Hindu powers of the south, as it was absolutely necessary for them to do in regard to the Moghuls under Aurangazeb in the Dakhan. It might well have appeared to the southern feudatories that, in the face of this combination between the two Muhammadan states, the projected combination of the Hindu states had little chances of success, but at the time such a conclusion would be reckoning without Aurangazeb in the Dakhan. The period of the greatest activity of Aurangazeb against Bijapur and Golkonda was just opening. It would be very difficult to imagine that Mysore and Madura had not a clear notion of the impending danger against the Muhammadan states. A combination therefore of the Hindu states had in it the chances of success. The real difficulty against such a combination was the hostility of interests between Mysore and Madura. Could the two work together for a common purpose ? That depended upon what the common purpose was and what the actual interests were that had to be sacrificed in the pursuit of this common object. The common object was the support of an empire which at the time might be regarded as effete. The interests that had to be sacrificed were the possibility of aggression and acquisition of more territory by each of the principalities for herself. If this policy of aggrandizement could be given up, enlightened self-interest and patriotism alike would have clearly indicated the policy of union as the course of action to be adopted by the two rival principalities of Mysore and Madura. This was not apparently what appealed to them. The fugitive Śrīranga in Mysore was made use of, for only as a cloak, for the aggrandizing schemes of Kanṭhīrava Narasa. We have so far come upon no evidence of the emperor having been in Mysore as a fugitive, but the Jesuit authorities state it clearly, and it is just possible in the circumstances that the Mysore authorities thought it more prudent to omit reference to this incident which could not redound to the honour of the ruler of Mysore for the time being. Kanṭhīrava Narasa's assumption of independence, at least an attempt at such, is dateable at 1648, when he issued a grant without any reference to the ruling emperor for the time being. The year 1646, the year in which the empire was at its worst, Śrīranga had to stand a siege in Vellore by the whole of the Golkonda forces. The siege was raised through the active exertions of Śivappa Nāyaka, the general of Ikkēri. Perhaps it was this distress of the emperor that gave the occasion for the attempt of Kanṭhīrava Narasa. It is soon after this that we hear of the dash of Bijapur upon Ginjee. This operation on the part of Bijapur, with Mysore in its flank, would be ordinarily difficult to understand unless it had the countenance or active support of Madura. The complaint of the Jesuits that Tirumala Nāyaka invited Bijapur probably has reference to this period.

Mysore adopted a policy which was hardly sympathetic to the empire and the imperial ambitions of Śrīranga. The Madura Nāyak adopted a policy of active support to the enemies of the empire for which the only explanation possible is his fear of the aggressions of Kanṭhīrava Narasa, and therefore of hostility of interests as against the empire. Thus the two powers concerned adopted a policy, which the hostility of interests between them dictated, and that policy proved unfavourable to the schemes of revival of the empire.

With the accession of Kanṭhīrava Narasa in Mysore, the Mysore frontier had been brought to be co-terminous with the northern frontier of Madura through the conquest of the Channapaṭṭaṇa viceroyalty in the previous reign. The first article of the foreign policy of Mysore must have been to keep on the watch along the whole length of the Bijapur frontier with a view to prevent the possible aggressions from that side. On the other side the frontier extended along the foot-hills from Dharmapuri and Omalūr through Dhārāpuram to Palghat, an uncertain frontier and open to constant attacks from the Nāyak of Madura. Therefore, so far as the Madura Nāyak was concerned, a most vulnerable and the really dangerous frontier happened to be this northern frontier and the most essential element of the foreign policy of the Madura Nāyak was to keep the ambitions of Madura within bounds along this frontier. This would justify, if not necessitate, an attempt at concerted action between Bijapur and Madura as against Mysore. If, therefore, the emperor sought asylum in Mysore and if as the Jesuit letters say clearly Kanṭhīrava Narasa gave that asylum, the Nāyak of Madura would be driven by that very act to seek the co-operation of Bijapur. That perhaps was what accounts for the somewhat strange and thoroughly unpatriotic policy that the great Nāyak of Madura pursued at this time. It was already pointed out that Śrīranga must have become a fugitive after the successful resistance to the Golkonda forces at Vellore. He must have sought and obtained asylum of Mysore sometime after, and this must have brought about the combination between Tirumala and Bijapur, which exhibited itself in Bijapur activities round Ginjee. There was for the time Tanjore between the outermost possession of Bijapur in Ginjee and the Nāyak of Madura. This principality in the course of the next decade of Kanṭhīrava Narasa's rule managed to maintain its independent existence by keeping up a double front successfully against Madura and Bijapur. Kanṭhīrava Narasa was apparently very active between the period 1650 to 1659, a period during practically the whole of which the Moghul operations in the Dakhan were the most active under the personal direction of Aurangazeb. The activity of the Moghuls in the Dakhan must have diverted the attention of the Muhammadan states and left the immediate south open to the aggressive activity of Mysore. Kanṭhīrava

Narasa took full advantage of this enforced quiet on his northern frontier by carrying on a series of successful operations not only to secure his frontier along the line already indicated which at a later period of history Sir Thomas Munro believed was the natural frontier separating Mysore from the territory of Madura. This assumption of hostility against Madura in a definite form by Kanṭhīrava made the position of the emperor in Mysore unacceptable to him and made him move out of the shelter of Mysore to the protection of the Nāyak of Ikkēri ultimately. That gave a new stimulus to the forces hostile to Mysore, who could now find a justification for their hostility to Mysore by the pretext of their acting on behalf of the emperor. In the last years of the reign of Kanṭhīrava Narasa and of Tirumala Nāyak of Madura, the wars became more frequent and were conducted with unusual barbarity. It is these wars that are described by contemporary European authorities as the "Wars of the Noses". It seems to be that the Mysorean forces set an example by cutting off the noses of their enemies, who fell into their hands alive or dead. The Madura forces retaliated with equal barbarity and on one occasion they are supposed to have chased the Mysore armies to the walls of the capital... It is even said that Kanṭhīrava Narasa himself was mutilated by being stripped of his nose! This so far rests upon the evidence of the Jesuit letters only. Such barbarities are not usually ascribed to either armies in connection with their other wars which were many and might even be said to be frequent. We have not come upon any record of this on the Indian side either by the one party or by the other. It is impossible to say that such barbarities were not prepetrated as the Muhammadan historian Ferishta records a similar incident on the occasion of the siege of Bider by the Kuṭb-Shahi forces of Hyderabad. The "Naigwaries" as they are called are described to have brought in noses and ears of their victims in their nocturnal attacks, in all probability to earn the stipulated rewards, and no such is stated to have been offered either by Mysore or by Madura. We have however to remain content till more evidence speaks definitely one way or the other. In his last war against Madura, Kanṭhīrava Narasa advanced up to the walls of Madura itself when Tirumala Nāyaka was in his last illness. The capture of Madura was averted by the timely intervention of the forces of Ramnad, and the Mysore forces were beaten back successfully within the frontiers of Mysore. It was after this and in the reign of Doḍḍadēvarāja of Mysore that a combination was brought about among the chieftains of the empire who took up ostensibly the cause of the emperor and made a joint attack upon Mysore. The series of hostile operations which became consequent on this culminated in the defeat of the combined forces at Erode in the last years of the reign of Dēva Rāja when Chikkadēvarāja from his retirement at

Tirukkanambi offered to lead the Mysore forces against their enemies. In this battle figured practically all the chieftains of the empire other than Mysore, and that was the last battle for the empire. The victory of Mysore in this battle put an end practically to the imperial ambitions of Śrīranga, and although he lived on for six or seven years more, he was able to do no more to bring him any nearer to the object that he set before himself in life. The revival of the empire therefore was baulked by the efforts of Mysore and Madura each of which pursued its own policy of ambition and aggression occasionally setting up the emperor as a cloak to their own ambitions. Both of them came out of the struggle victorious from the point of view of their individual interests. The empire was no more, and either of them could regard itself as an independent state. With the accession of Chikkadēvarāja, Mysore could regard herself independent both in form and in fact, and so could Madura after the first few years of Tirumala's successor Chokkanātha.

The Moghul Conquest of Bijapur and Golkonda.

At the period to which we have arrived, the Vijayanagar empire as such was no more a political entity, the only two Hindu states that stood out of it were Mysore and Madura. The viceroyalties of Ginjee and Tanjore had been absorbed by the Mahrattas in the great viceroyalty of Shahji which at this period was in the hands of his second son Ekoji otherwise called Venkaji. The Mahratta power was rising to its zenith under Sivaji. The coast portion of the empire as far as Madras had been absorbed into the territory of the Sultans of Golkonda. The possessions of Bijapur were perhaps vaster than those of Golkonda, but she was troubled by the activities of Sivaji in the north-western part of her dominions. The Moghul activities in the Dakhan which began in the last years of the sixteenth century under Akbar had gradually been extending so that the Dakhan viceroyalty grew so much in extent and importance that it became the palatine viceroyalty of the great Moghuls throughout the long reign of Shah-Jehan, who himself had been the Moghul viceroy of the Dakhan before. The Dakhan viceroyalty gradually extended its authority and ultimately succeeded in absorbing the territories of the Nizamshahi kings of Ahmednagar and came into touch with the frontiers of both Bijapur and Golkonda in the north, and the Mahratta state of Sivaji in the west. In the last decade of his reign Aurangazeb was the viceroy of his father and was always inclined to pursue a policy of active aggression against the Muhammadan powers in particular, and of the rising power of the Mahrattas, though all through this period he under-estimated the character of the rising power of Sivaji. In all his activities he was hampered by cross-currents of princely interests at headquarters, so that Aurangazeb had not exactly his own way. He had therefore to pursue a policy of diplomacy

as against the court, so shaping his course of action as to lead on to extorting the assent of the emperor to his definite policy of aggression, ending in the absorption of the two Muhammadan states. On the other side he had to pursue a policy of division of interests between the two southern states and sowing dissension among those loyal officers who were working in the interests of their masters, the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda. By persistent efforts, both diplomatic and war-like, Aurangazeb was very near the accomplishment of his object when he was called away to the north to play his part in the war of succession which ended in his accession to power and the imprisonment of his father. The first twenty years of his reign were occupied with various other items of work that did not give him time enough to pay personal attention to the affairs of the Dakhan. The armies were sent under imperial princes and generals always in twos, owing to the haunting suspicion that his own sons might do unto him what he did to his father. Even where he sent generals he sent them in pairs always with the set purpose of assured division of interests. Therefore during these twenty years of his reign, an active policy in the Dakhan culminating in the absorption of the Muhammadan states was not possible. Another factor that contributed towards the same end was the ceaseless activity of the Mahratta Sivaji, and his diplomacy which made him an ally of one of the Muhammadan states or the other or both, but always acknowledging some kind of allegiance to Bijapur. In this state of affairs, it seems to have dawned upon Sivaji that now that the Vijayanagar empire was passing out of political vision he might satisfy his own ambitions, religious and political, by assuming the role of the vanished Hindu emperor and standing before the Muhammadan Padhushah, as the recognized head of the Hindu South. It is probably with a view to this that he fell in with the ideas of Raghopant Hanumante by whose influence he got into alliance with Golkonda, through its two Hindu ministers Akkana and Madana. Having secured his flank in this fashion Sivaji marched southwards as far as Tanjore with a view to gather the whole of the southern viceroyalty of his father and unite it with his own Mahratta state as part of a united empire, and if success attended, of perhaps bringing the other Hindu states also into the scheme. It was probable that Aurangazeb caught a glimpse of this new ambition, and this knowledge perhaps gave point to his inveterate hostility to the Shiah Muhammadan states of the south. He therefore marched into the Dakhan at the head of the grand army and succeeded ultimately in defeating the Mahrattas and keeping them, at any rate, within bounds and in extinguishing the Muhammadan states of Bijapur and Golkonda thus attaining to his life ambition of an extension of the Moghul territories to the uttermost south.

In doing this he certainly put an end to the independent Muhammadan

powers of Bijapur and Golkonda. What he was able to do against the Mahrattas only scotched the Mahratta power, and perhaps left it temporarily disabled but by way of permanent subjection he had not gone far. Of the cherished pretensions of Sivaji however of bringing all the Hindu states of the south under his aegis, Aurangazeb obviously had a glimpse as he seems to have received an embassy from Chikkadēvarāja Oḍeyar of Mysore apparently after the fall of Bijapur. It may be a little before or after. After the fall of Golkonda he sent out an embassy demanding the submission of Madura. The emperor received the Mysore ambassador suitably and dismissed him after a six months' stay, having spent upon him, according to one account, 2,000 pagodas for the embassy recognizing Chikkadēvarāja Oḍeyar as the ruler of Mysore, perhaps according to the Moghul notions, under the suzerainty of the great Moghul. Madura was far too remote even from Golkonda and was ruled by the Nāyak Ranga Krishna Muttu Vīrappa, who had just come out of the leading strings of his grandmother, the Regent, Mangammāl. According to the Jesuit records Aurangazeb sent an elephant fully caparisoned bearing on the howdah a slipper for the right foot and was taken escorted by a suitable guard in procession, with the requisition that as soon as this slipper reached the frontiers of a Hindu state the ruler was expected to receive it with due form of royal ceremony as though he were receiving the emperor himself or his royal representative, take the slipper in procession to his Durbar, there offer Nazir and dismiss it in acknowledgment of his subordination to the emperor. It came to Śamayavarma, five miles north of Śrīrangam, which marked perhaps the frontier of the Madura Nāyak at the time, from which word was sent to the Nāyak. The Nāyak feigned illness and let the procession come on. It came to the banks of the Vaigai, wherefrom another message was sent. Again he set up the same pretence and let the procession enter the fort and then the palace and come in front of his Durbar hall where he had assembled his court and was holding his Durbar in state. When the elephant arrived in the front court he got down from his throne, took the single slipper from the back of the elephant, and shoving his right foot in demanded angrily of the leaders of the embassy how it was that their Padushah could be so stupid as to send only one slipper, where a man required a pair to wear. The escort showed some fight, but they were easily beaten and driven away. According to the story Aurangazeb took no further step to enforce his authority over distant Madura after this dramatic episode. Aurangazeb in all probability knew that his predecessor the Toghlak Muhammad's empire extended as far as Madura and salved his conscience by this futile embassy and regarded himself as the emperor of the whole of Hindustan to the most distant south.

It becomes clear then that out of the Vijayanagar empire which, as an empire, had now gone out of existence there stood forth only two Hindu states, Mysore and Madura. Of these Mysore with a politic prudence, for which good precedents could be quoted, submitted to the inevitable by getting into diplomatic relation of feudal subordination, which was at the very most quite nominal and thus saved herself. Madura defied and for the time kept independent. Aurangazeb himself did not proceed to the conquest of Madura, but his generals and viceroys of the south never lost sight of these provinces of the late Hindu empire; but the Nāyakship of Madura was actually put an end to only when the Moghul viceroyalty of the Dakhan had become practically an independent Muhammadan state, and it was a feudatory of the Nizam that drove Queen Minākshi of Trichinopoly to commit suicide. Safdar-Jang and Chanda Saheb the representatives of the Nawab of Arcot together occupied Trichinopoly, and made the Queen virtually a prisoner; and it was Chanda Saheb who by a perfidious act drove the Queen to her destruction and the Nāyakship of Madura went out of existence thereafter.

This in brief is the sad tale in general outline of the glorious empire of Vijayanagar. In spite of the tragic end of one of her earliest and certainly the premier viceroyalty of Madura, a state composed of parts of three at least of her equally early viceroyalties, went to constitute the Hindu state of Mysore which maintains its existence even now with an episode of a Muhammadan usurpation which had well-nigh put an end to that Hindu state as well. It was British policy that was responsible for this Hindu restoration and this notwithstanding the state of Mysore under her most beloved and enlightened ruler of to-day continues the glorious Hindu traditions of Krishnadēvarāya and Vīra Baḷḷāḷa before him, in spite of the short parenthesis of about forty years which substituted Muhammadan for Hindu rule.

MALNAD CHIEFS.

BY DR. R. SHAMA SHASTRY, B.A., PH.D.

(Continued from Vol. XII, p. 57.)

The Story of Sogani Agrahar in Shimoga.

KING Viraballala was ruling in Hamsapur in Shimoga. Once on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, he made up his mind to build an Agrahar or row of houses and bestow it on Brahmans. When he was going in a forest not far from the river, talking with Brahmans about a suitable locality to build an Agrahar and grant them agricultural land free, his servants killed a tiger which had a number of cubs in its womb. In order to atone for the sin, he built an Agrahar there together with a lake near Hoisanahalli and called that village Sogani. He built also temples there, the temple of Bhimesvara being one of them.

Sometime after Viraballala, some Arasu at the head of Beda tribes occupied Shimoga and asked the Brahmans to quit the Agrahar as he required that place for erecting a fort. All the Brahmans left the Agrahar, except one Tirumala Dikshita, who, on being forced by the Arasu, fell with his wife and children in what is called Bhimana Madu. It is even now said that the spirit of the drowned man is haunting that place. The Arasu however built a fort there and was ruling over Shimoga before it went into the hands of a leader of the Beda tribes. Sometime after, some Sivabhaktas wrested it from the Bedas. The Sivabhaktas were no other than the Nayaks of Keladi under Somasekhara Nayaka. When Budi Basavappa Nayaka was ruling in Keladi, Narayana Rao of Poona invaded Shimoga, camping near the Kudli. When he was given five and a half lakhs of Varahas, he retired to Poona. Sometime later Madoji Purandar of Poona again invaded the territory and carried off twelve lakhs of Varahas from Keladi. After the death of Basavappa, his wife Virammaji ruled over the country for some years till Hyder Ali made her a prisoner in Maddagiri and annexed the country to Mysore. Instead of giving Shimoga to Paleygars on *feudal tenure*, he appointed Amildars in Sagar. The appointment of Amildars for maintenance of peace and revenue collection was not on pensionable service. The Amildars were not purely Brahmans alone, but men of other castes also. No Amildar was retained for more than two or three years.

The Arasus of Bilagila or Bilagi.

In the north of Shimoga there is still marked a village called Masura which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of the Christian era was a scene of varying fortunes. It was the capital of some Arasus called the Arasus of Bilagila or Bilagi translated Svetapura or white city in Sanskrit. Before Bilagi was built as the seat of government, Masura was the capital of these Arasus. In the political chronicle termed 'Bilagila Arasugala Charitre', the history of the Arasus of

Bilagila, the first of the line of these Arasus is called Mundanna or Mundanna Narasappa known also as Kallappa. He had three sons, Bhairava, Kallappa, and Viranidhi Narasimha. Narasimha, being brave, succeeded his father. In admiration of his valour, Krishnaraya of Vijayanagar (about 1520 A.D.) is said to have given him his own daughter in marriage and also bestowed on him Penukonda and its adjoining territory yielding about three lakhs of Varahas.

He is said to have had two sons called Viraghante Nripati and Mundanna II. They seem to have ruled over their territory conjointly and built forts in Bilagi, Bedakali, Kunije, Kondali, and Muganduru, after putting down the Beda ribes of those places. Viraghante I had three sons, Timmanna, Narasa and Virappa, of whom Virappa married Viramma and succeeded his father. His son was Rangaraja who married Cheluvamma. He succeeded in defeating and driving out of his territory the Muhammadan invaders. He was succeeded by his son Ghante II. Pretending to go on a hunting expedition he invaded with a huge army the territory of Bhairadevi, the queen of Garasoppa and returned after destroying her army. On being invited by Venkatappa of Keladi, he went thither with his councillors and ministers, such as Puttaya, Channaya, Doddabhadraya, Giriyappa and others. In the list of these names there is no name indicating a person of other than Lingayet caste. It is not that there were no Brahmans honoured in Bilagi ; for gifts to learned Brahmans are frequently mentioned in the work. It may therefore be concluded that among the advisers of the Arasu who himself was a Lingayet, preference seems to have been shown only to Lingayets. Seeing the exaggerative terms in which the administration of the country by them is spoken of in the poetic chronicle, it may safely be assumed that the Lingayets were intellectually and physically inferior to none.

Followed by his advisers Ghante II went to Keladi and showed his skill and valour in riding on a powerful horse, named Mangalabotta, on whose back no brave man dared to sit. Admiring his horsemanship Venkatappa presented him not only the horse, but also pearl necklaces and costly clothes of gold and silver.

Having received these presentations, he led his army of 12,000 horses and numerous elephants against the army of Bijapur under Nizam Shah who was just then invading the territory of Keladi. He defeated the Muhammadans and drove them out to the delight of Venkatappa. On his victorious return to Keladi, Venkatappa gave his daughter Ramadevi in marriage to him and conferred on him not merely titles such as Vikramakanthirava, torches burning in daylight, and lion flags, but also the territory of Penukonda and Gutti yielding nine lakhs of Varahas.

On his return to Bilagi with his wife Ramadevi, Arasappa or Raghunatha Nayaka of Sode also gave his daughter Viramma in marriage to him and also bestowed on him five villages in admiration of his valour. To Viramma was born Mummadi Ghante, i.e., Ghante III, who excelled his father in valour and in driving out the army of the Padshah of Bijapur from Keladi.

On being invited by his maternal grandfather Raghunatha Nayaka of Sode, he went there on the occasion of the Car-festival of Basavane Madhukesa when his heralds extolled him as the 'destroyer of Beda' tribes before Hanumappa

Nayaka of Tarikere, belonging to a Beda tribe, the leading Nayaks with Ghante III being at the time engaged in pouring coloured water over each other on account of the Car-festival. Hanumappa took it coolly, for so brave was Ghante III.

When Ghante III died, his two sons, Mauna Ghante Vodier and Siddappa Vodier were looking after their own territory when again the army of Bijapur invaded Keladi and were engaged in destroying a number of forts there. Hearing this Siddappa went to Bijapur and presented the Padshah with a silver elephant and with a number of costly jewels inlaid with gems. Being very much pleased with him, he recalled his army from Keladi. When in return for this good Virabhadra Nayaka of Keladi (1582–1629) said in a joke that he would never hurt Bilagi, Siddappa was enraged and drawing his sword went with his army to put an end to Keladi. On being however told that Virabhadra meant no contempt thereby, Siddappa returned to Bilagi and shortly after died. His wife constructed the village Siddapura and set up Siddhi Vinayaka in a temple there in memory of her husband. Mauna Ghante married Channammadevi and constructed the fort of Belagodu.

During the reign of Mauna Ghante, the Bijapur forces seized a number of forts of Keladi and invaded Bilagi also. But Mauna Ghante made an agreement of peace with the Padshah and restored peace in his country. After his demise, Sivappa Nayaka of Keladi (1645–1660) attempted to annex Bilagi to his own country, as there was no heir to the dais of Bilagi. But the Samajikas succeeded in inducing Sivappa Nayaka to approve of Channamma's intention to adopt a near relative and bringing a boy from the house of Kyadage, crowned him as Nayaka of Bilagi paying costly presentations to Sivappa. The adopted heir was also called Sivappa, probably to please Sivappa Nayaka. He married two wives, one Santamma, and the other Gauramma. He fell from his horse while riding and died leaving no sons to succeed him. Santamma adopted one of the sons of Jambura Santamayya and crowned him, giving him the name Sivappa II. It is he that built Bilagi with a beautiful palace in it. He also died having no issue. Then Santamma adopted again the second son of Jambura Santamayya and gave him the name of Somasekhara. He married Channamallamma. As a skilful rider of horses, he won the admiration of Channammaji of Keladi. He was as brave as Ghante I and recovered all those villages inclusive of Penukonda which during the times of his father and grandfather were lost to Bilagi. He had a son called Somasekhara II from his wife Viramma. Somasekhara II was a staunch Saivite. He was crowned king of Bilagi when his father and brother were alive. When Somasekhara II died, Viramma performed Sati by entering into her husband's funeral pyre. Mallammaji was however prevented from following her example. Somasekhara II is highly extolled by the author of the chronicle as an unrivalled Sanskrit scholar acquainted with poetry, drama, logic, the Mimamsa, the Bharata-sastra and prosody. He is also said to have been a poet himself. He was not married when his father died. His ministers, mandaliks and tantradhyakshas, niyogis and relatives are all said to have consulted Channamallamma, Somasekhara's step-mother in selecting a bride for him. They all agreed in selecting one

Nilamma and married her to him, calling her Channamma. Te them there was born a son whom they called Virabhadra; to their daughter they gave the name Virammaji. Virabhadra was as highly educated as his father. Both father and son were staunch devotees of Siva and never swerved from the doctrines and customs of Saiva religion. They were munificent in giving gifts to learned Brahmans.

Virabhadra's son was known as Basavendra. Virabhadra repaired the Viresa temple at Masura and installed his Basava on Tuesday Suddha Saptami of the month of Sravana in the year Angirasa. He had two wives Devammaji and Virammaji. He built Bhuvanesvari temple, gave land grants to Brahmans and made ample provision to feed the hungry, to give milk and butter to children and fodder to cows. With him passed away the glory of Bilagi.

The Arasus of Belagutti in Shimoga.

Belagutti, situated to the south-east of Keladi in Shimoga, is said to have been the seat of the following Paleygar Chiefs:—

1.	Surabhuparaya, grandson of Chaluva Rangappa ..	Saka	1338-1352
2.	Abhra Madhavaraya, his son	,,	1353-1381
3.	His son, Venkatadri Bevule	,,	1382-1412
4.	His son, Ramakotiraya	,,	1412-1437
5.	His son, Yallanna	,,	1438-1473
6.	His son, Dasappa	,,	1473-1486
7.	His son, Venkatappa..	,,	1494-1519
8.	His son, Timmappa	,,	1520-1532
9.	Timmappa's brother	,,	1533-1544
10.	His brother, Doddappa Nayaka..	,,	1545-1564
11.	Venkatappa's son Narasappa	,,	1564-1565
12.	Raghavappa..	,,	1566-1589
13.	Venkatappa II, son of Timmappa (9)	,,	1590-1629
14.	His son, Timmappa	,,	1630-1684

Of these, Venkatadri is said to have slain Channa Nayaka, a Beda Chief of Bevule and used his yellow flag as his own trophy, and called himself Venkatadri Bevule. In Saka 1413 Praudharaya of Vijayanagar is said to have confirmed Ramakotiraya as the chief of Belagutti. During Dasappa's reign, Ramaraya of Vijayanagar is said to have died, bringing the empire of Vijayanagar to an end. Dasappa is said to have been frequently at war with Hanumappa Nayaka of Tarikere. When Hyder Ali came to Belagutti, conquering the Paleygars one after another in Saka 1684-1762 A.D., both Timmappa and Venkatappa are said to have surrendered themselves to him with a tribute of money and men. Being pleased with them, Hyder Ali is said to have sent them at the head of his army to put down minor Paleygars in Anantapur, Kumsi, Sikaripur, Jade, Huduguni, Tavanandi, Gutti, and other places. After they returned victorious, Hyder bestowed Belagutti on Timmappa and Kumsi on Naranappa. Soon after Hyder retired, Madhavarao, son of Nanarao of Poona, is said to have

invaded Anantapur and Belagutti and carried off 750 Varahas. Then Belagutti Subbiah and others are said to have been employed by Hyder as revenue and police and military officers on a fixed monthly salary in Belagutti.

Venkatappa, son of Timmappa, is said to have been paid thirty Varahas for maintaining a palanquin. Sriranga is said to have been receiving 300 Varahas per month for keeping a regiment of horses. A regiment of 400 soldiers is said to have been stationed there at a cost of Rs. 7½ per head. Hyder is also said to have divided the territory of Belagutti into 100 Hoblis with ten daffedars at a cost of ten Kanthiraya Varahas per daffedar. Hyder's troops are said to have recaptured Kodiyal from the English. Hyder is also said to have given to Sadasiva Rangappa the district of Bankapur when Belagutti was given to Dasappa.

It may be said without fear of contradiction that the credit of consolidating the province of Mysore with its eight or four districts after utterly destroying the power of a number of Paleygars in all the districts is due to Hyder Ali.

Kempe Gowda of Magadi. 1540-1580 A.D.

From the latter part of the fifteenth century down to the close of the seventeenth century the districts of Bangalore, Kolar and Tumkur seem to have afforded shelter to a number of Paleygars. From a short poetical work entitled "Kemparayana Jayastuti" we come to know that while in the first half of the sixteenth century, Venkatadevaraya was a feeble emperor in Vijayanagar, his vassals, Venkatapatiraya in Penukonda, Timma III in Chickaballapur and Doddaballapur, Bhaira in Devanahalli, Rangappa in Sira, Jagadevaraya in Channapatna severed their connection with Vijayanagar and began to exercise their independent sway over their feudal territories. Meanwhile Kempe Gowda II, son of Kempe Gowda and Channamma of Magadi, came into prominence as a trusted champion (Swamidnohara Ganda) of the empire of Vijayanagar. Whether he was an upstart or a sworn feudal chief of Vijayanagar is not mentioned in the Jayastuti. Venkatadevaraya had however acknowledged him as a guardian of his empire. With this profession, he began his career by capturing the villages Balagodanahalli and Betarayanagudi near Bangalore. When he plundered Hosakote, Venkatapati of Penukonda became jealous of his power and sent his son together with Ayimagauda, Anantaraja, Makaraja, Yachanama Nayaka, Juggaraja, Jagadevaraya, Timma, Rangappa of Sira, Immadi Bhaira Hammira and Dalavoi Chunchanna, all with their armies to put down Kempa and capture Bangalore. When they were routed out by Kempa in the year of Paridhavi Kartika Suddha 11 corresponding to October 16th of 1552, Venkatapati made friendship with Kempa and presented him with elephants, horses, cloths of gold and gems. Then he is said to have razed to the ground the fort of Hosakote and compelled the other Paleygars inclusive of Venkataraya of Penukonda to be loyal feudal chiefs of Vijayanagar. He is also said to have gone to Vijayanagar with these and other feudal chiefs in the year Bhava (Magha Suddha 5) and celebrated the coronation of Venkatadevaraya (1572) as the emperor of Vijayanagar. After his return from Vijayanagar, he is said to have made Bangalore his capital and styled himself as the Chief of Yelahankanadu.

He was a Saivite in religion and is said to have restored to Sivaganga temple all those land grants which were misappropriated by others.

He seems to have received little or no education, for he is said to have been quite pleased when in reply to his question whether any one before him had ability to compose poems in his praise, some one chanted some slokas of the Amarakosa replacing the final one or two words in each half verse by Kempe Gowda.

The Nayaks of Santebannur.

Harihararaya of Vijayanagar once came to what is called Madakeri near the town, Harihara. Unable to capture an elephant in a forest close by, he asked his priest astrologer Narasimhabhatta whether or not he would succeed in capturing the beast. He predicted success. The elephant was captured and the place was then called Madakari, an elephant in rut. He built a village there, giving it the same name. He also built a temple and set up God Ranga there. On the day of a lunar eclipse on the full moon day of Vaisakha of the year Yuva corresponding to Saka 1316=1394* A.D., he granted to Narasimhabhatta the two villages, Haralakatte and Brahmanahalli and appointed him as tax-gatherer of some adjoining villages. He had the same fact inscribed on a copper plate.

One of the cows of Harihararaya's household had five nipples in its udder and used to shed its milk over an anthill in Devagiri.

On another occasion Harihara is said to have been taught the science of polity by a hare which he chased in hunting. As the hare led him from place to place and caused some of his men to fall unconscious and escaped after all, Harihara considered it a divine animal and constructing a village there called it Harihara. He also constructed a temple there and set up Vuduvina Ranganatha in it.

In Devagiri he constructed two more villages called Devarahalli and Channapura. Where the hare taught polity to him, he constructed a village and called it Nitigere. Likewise he constructed Tagattur and Ramanahalli where the animal escaped crying "Rama and Rama."

Ramaraya, son-in-law of Krishnaraya of Vijayanagar gave Madakeri Nadu to one Hanumappa Nayaka. He was a brave soldier and a devotee to Kogitur Hanumantaraya. His son was known as Ramakatte Hanumappa Nayaka. Among his descendants, Huchchappa Nayaka, Hanuma Nayaka II, Billappa Nayaka, Chikka, Chikkanna Nayaka and Hanumappa Nayaka III were all successive rulers of good repute. Kengappa Nayaka, son of Hanumappa III, fortified Rangapur and erected the temple of Ramachandra in it in the year Kalayukti of Saka 1480=1558 A.D. He also built a tank there. He extended the temples of Koginur Hanumantha and Vuduvina Ranganatha. He confirmed the villages granted to the ancestors of Lingannabhatta by his ancestors. On the day of a lunar eclipse on the 15th of Magha in the year Raktakshi corresponding to Saka 1486=1564 A.D., he gave the name Santebannur to what was till then called Rangapur. He ruled for nine years and died in Prabhava corresponding to Saka

* The eclipse is not verifiable.

1489=1567 A.D. Kenga Hanuma II, his son, succeeded him. He built tanks in the five villages, Here Kogilur, Santebannur, Taligere, Sadanamatha and Madakari. He was succeeded by his son Kenganichchadavaniga Hanumappa. He also built some tanks in Kulunur and Beliganuduvu. He died in Vikrama corresponding to Saka 1502=1580 A.D., and was succeeded by his sons, Here Kenga Hanuma and Chikka Kenga Hanuma in Vishu corresponding to Saka 1503=1581 A.D. Once there was some disagreement between the brothers, Chikka Kenga Hanuma went to Banavar and the elder to Basavapatna in Shimoga District. Thus for fifty-six years from the year Svabhanu (Saka 1505) to Bahudhanya corresponding to Saka 1560, Elder Kenga Hanumappa Nayaka had ruled over Basavapatna when Rana Malla Khan arrived thither with his army from Bhavanagar and after conquering a number of Paleygars, laid siege to Basavapatna and razed its fort to the ground. He converted the temples at Santebannur into a mosque and endowed it with two villages, Kulunur and Kempanahalli. In Pramathi corresponding to Saka 1561 he stationed a thana in Santebannur. After appointing Murtij Beg in charge of Basavapatna, he returned to Bhavanagar, taking Hanuma as his captive. One Bhujabalarama was ruling over Basavapatna for a year under Murtij Beg. One Khankhan was in charge of the thana in Santebannur for nine years up to the year Virodhi. He converted the temple of Ramachandra in Santebannur into a mosque and destroyed the six temples, Hire Kogilu, Kallesvara, Mallesvara, Ramachandra temple, the temple of Ramesvara in Siddhanamatha and Kallesvara in Taligere. The stinging of honey-bees drove his men from the temple of Vuduvina Ranganatha and prevented him from destroying it. He however removed the inscribed slabs of this temple to the mosque at Santebannur. One Patekhan was supervising the construction of the mosque at Santebannur from 1572 to Vikriti of 1576=1654 A.D. He was followed by Farid Khan from 1576 to 1578=1656 A.D.

Meanwhile Chikka Kenga Hanumappa of Banavar went to Bijapur to have his brother released from captivity. He was a brave man and once he fought with a tiger and killed it with his dagger before the Padshah of Bijapur. The Sultan was pleased with him and gave him the title of Sarja and honoured him with a green palanquin, green umbrella and a pair of green shawls. He appointed him as Nayaka over his old dominion. On his return to Basavapatna he slaughtered a pig in the half-built mosque at Santebannur before the very eyes of the Muhammadans and prevented them from completing it. Then he became known as Punda or Rogue Hanumappa. He ruled from Durmukhi corresponding to Saka 1578 to 1584=1662 A.D. Then one Sarja Khan with an army arrived thither from Bijapur. Rogue or Sarja Hanuma was too old to resist him and leaving the country went to Tarikere. Sarja Khan ruled over Basavapatna for nine years from 1585 to 1593=1661 A.D. He confirmed the villages granted to Nadigara Sanna. Sarjakhan was followed by Mahomed Beg who ruled over from 1593 to 1598=1666 A.D. Then came Kasim Khan and ruled from 1598 to 1603=1681 A.D.

In the year Dundubhi corresponding to Saka 1604=1682 A.D., Baramanna of Chitaldrug laid siege to Santebannur and capturing and annexing it to Chitaldrug,

ruled over it for thirty-five years from 1682 to 1716 A.D. The Muhammadans however retained Basavapatna to Bijapur. Devarahalli which belonged to Santebannur was also under the Muhammadans. About Saka 1636 Santebannur passed into the hands of Somasekhara Nayaka of Keladi. He confirmed Nadigara Sanna or Narasanna in the enjoyment of his Manya lands. He received the *nirupa* order of Somasekhara from Gurappa, who was appointed as Thanadar at Santebannur. In the year Hevilambi corresponding to 1639=1717 A.D., Gurappa died. Somasekhara built a Math in Santebannur and endowed it with the two villages, Lakshmanasagara near Chennagiri and Padmenahalli in the country of Yedatore. His rule lasted till Chitrabhanu of 1684=1762 A.D.

In the year Raudri of Saka 1662=1740 A.D., Here Madakere Nayak of Chitaldrug laid siege to Santebannur, but being unable to capture it returned. Still he liked to be flattered as the conqueror of Santebannur. In Sukla of 1671=1749 A.D., his son Kasturi Rangappa Nayak with the assistance of Halli of Moti Khan commanding one lakh of men and of Gutti Murari with his army laid siege to Santebannur for nearly two months. Still the fort did not surrender. Then the Arasus of Bidarur entered into an agreement with the opposing allies. They agreed to pay a Chavutaya=one-fourth of revenue (of Santebannur) to be divided between Hilal Khan and Gutti Murari. Also Bidarur renounced its claim to Mayikonda in favour of Chitaldrug and Chitaldrug renounced its claim to Santebannur in favour of Bidarur.

In Saka 1685=1763 A.D., Hyder Ali allied with Madakere Nāyaka, took Bidarur and giving it the name of Nagar annexed it to Srirangapatam. He gave Santebannur to Madakere Nayak. Accordingly he ruled over it for fifteen years from Saka 1685 to 1699=1777 A.D.

In the year Vilambi 1778 Hyder Ali kept a Thanadar in Santebannur & annexed it to Srirangapatam. Tippu was there for twelve years from 1700 to 1712=1790 A.D.

When Hyder Ali was besieging Chitaldrug, one Lakshmana Nayak and his son gave him their aid. In return for this service, Hyder appointed him to be in charge of Santebannur. Taking this opportunity he carried all the fort guns of Santebannur to Chitaldrug. On hearing this Hyder ordered the Killedar of Biligodu to furnish the fort of Santebannur with necessary guns. He did so. In 1713=1791 A.D., Parasuramarao of Poona made Santebannur his camp for a year. Then from Paridhavi corresponding to 1714 to Kalayukti of 1720=1798 A.D. Santebannur was under Tippu Sultan. In accordance with the new distribution of territory made by Tippu, Devanahalli which the Muhammadans of Bijapur annexed to Basavapatna was restored to Santebannur. On Saturday, the new moon day of Chaitra of Siddharti corresponding to 1721=1799 A.D., the English took Srirangapatam. Then for two months and thirteen days from Vaisakha, Sarja Krishnappa Nayak of Tarikere was in charge of Santebannur. His son-in-law Raghunatha Nayak was also in charge of it for some days. On the 13th of Ashadha the English made a camp in Chennagiri and took Santebannur also on the 14th. They remained here for twenty days. Then one Sankara Rao deputed by Purnayya became Mamalendar of Santebannur and he was followed by one Lingopant of Harihar.

The Story of Hodigere.

In Dummi Nadu belonging to Uchchangi, there is a village called Kedigere. When Kengappa Nayak of Santebannur went to this place and erected a fort and the temple of Ranganatha during the years of Krodhi to Prabhava corresponding to Saka 1487 to 1489=1565 to 1567 A.D. and kept it under his rule, Puttamallappa and Timmappa, sons of Isvarayya, submitted that the villages were their ancestral property and that therefore they were rightful heirs to them. Then Kengappa examined the records produced by them and accepted their claim. Accordingly he confirmed them in possession of the village lands and ordering them to protect the villages, the fields and pasture lands following old customs, sent them back with a written order. He called Kedigere Hodigere. They ruled over it for three years.

During the time of Hanumappa II of Santebannur, a tank was constructed at a distance of about six miles to the west of Hodigere by the damming of a valley. About 300 valekars and 25 kamatis worked at this under Ramanayaka and Kenchanayaka. Raja Ramanayaka in Ramanahalli and Kenchanayaka in Kechapura with Hodigere as capital ruled over the country for three years up to Saka 1492=1570 A.D. Then Kenga Nityamadavamiga Hanumappa ruled over the villages for ten years up to 1502=1580 A.D. He was succeeded by his sons elder Kengappa and younger Kengappa when owing to some disagreement the brothers separated from each other and went to Basavapatna and Tarikere in 1560=1638 A.D. The same fate that overtook Santebannur came upon Hodigere also. It was under Bijapur Muhammadans for some years, then again it passed into the hands of the younger Kenga Hanumappa, then under the power of Keladi, then under Medakere Nayak of Chitaldrug, then under Hyder and Tippu, then under the English and finally under Amildars appointed by Purniah as minister of H.H. the late Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur.

The History of Chitaldrug.

In the year of Pramadicha corresponding to Saka 1536= 1614 A.D., Medakere Nayaka was the ruler of Chitaldrug. In the year of Vikrama (1631), Medakere Nayak led his army to Harapanahalli, and routing the army of Harapanahalli, let his army plunder the village. The army of Harapanahalli, however, gathered together and falling upon Medakere Nayak's army, defeated it. Medakere Nayak retreated to Kanakuppe and worshipping the God there for a day returned to Durga again. He had no son. His brother called Hire Komarappa had a son called Chikkanna Nayaka. Medakere Nayaka however, adopted a boy called Vobanna and brought him up. Medakere Nayak died and was succeeded by his adopted son Vobanna. On the occasion of his installation, he did not, however, make presentations to any of the Gurukars and servants. For this reason they murdered him. On hearing this, both Komarappa and Chikkanna Nayaka, apprehensive of the same fate to themselves also, at once fled from the country by night. There was no one to rule and issue orders. Parpategar Lakshmana and other Nayaks together with Gurukars and elders met in an assembly in a chavadi and discussed as to who should be the ruler next. The people asked them to elect some

one. The Nayaks replied that they would never repeat that kind of sacrilegious act any more. Nevertheless none of the Nayaks and Gurukars consented to be elected for the responsible post. Then the choice of the people fell on Chikkanna Nayaka, son of Komarappa. All approved of the choice. On learning that both the father and son fled from the country leaving their wives and children behind apprehensive of their own murder, the people said that as there was none else to rule over them, some wise men should at once find them out and assuring them of their personal safety, bring them back. At the request of the people Lakshmana Nayaka with other Nayaks sent some Gurukars with Talawars to all the four quarters to find them out. The father and son were found in Chigatur belonging to Harapanahalli. On learning the purpose of the deputation, Hire Komarappa did not like to go back, but Chikkanna was bold enough to take the risk. So the father remained behind and allowed his son to go. In the month of Jyeshtha of the cyclic year Rakshasa (1666 A.D.) he was crowned when his father also came to Marappana Durga.

At this time there was a thick forest in the hill and about twenty or thirty men of the Beda tribe took shelter there to carry on their professional plunder at night in the villages round. Then Komarappa went thither with 300-400 men and killing some, captured the rest of the robbers, except some who escaped. While engaged in this business, Komarappa went over the whole hill and on examination found a number of wells (Hondas) and caves here and there. Accordingly he thought it fit to fortify the mountain. He communicated his intention to his son, the king. He approved of it and supplied his father with necessary workmen to set about the work without delay. Komarappa, however, returned to Durga and in the month of Margasira collected more men. He had to stay in Kenchanahalli for some time and on the third day of Phalguna (March) he went to the hill and began the operation. In the same month a square Buruz was constructed with a fort-wall and ditch round below. On Friday the tenth of Margasira of the year Nala a ditch with water on three sides of the upper fort-wall was completed. Then Komarappa entertained the workmen with dinner and gave them presentations. He also made sacrifice of ten sheep and occupied the palace for the first time. In the month of Jyeshtha of the year Kalayukti, trees were cut down in view of constructing a lower fort on the second day of the bright half of the same month; the construction of an Anjaneya temple was begun and Anjaneya God was set up on the sixth of the dark half of the same month. He kept fifty watchmen under Gurukar Here Bommayya to guard the hill.

On Monday the thirteenth of the bright half of Asvija, the foundation of the lower fort was laid and at the close of the year Kalayukti (1669) the wall together with its ditch was completed. On the fifth of the bright half of Vaisakha (May) of Siddharthi, the fort-gate was also made. To the east of this fort a number of people constructed dwelling houses in an enclosure protected by fence. As robbers used to set fire to the fence, it was replaced by a fort wall on Sunday the thirteenth of the bright half of the month of Kartika. On Thursday the third of the dark half of Magha, the construction of a square Buruz was begun and completed on the

thirteenth of the dark half of Chaitra of the year Raudri. Then the construction of a wall round the hill was begun. A water well on the hill was sunk on the twelfth of the bright half of Jyeshtha when on Thursday the seventh of the dark half of the same month a big conch shell was unearthed. The workmen at once took it to Komarappa who with astonishment at the sight of it presented the man who brought it with a Varaha and raised his salary also. He caused the conch shell to be worshipped and was told by Timmappa and other astrologers of Durga that the shell must have belonged to the sage Kanva who was traditionally reported to have formed his hermitage in the caves on the hill. He sent the conch shell to Durga. The place where it was found was called Kanakuppe (Kanva kuppe). By the tenth of the bright half of Sravana, a ditch with water was also completely constructed round the hill. A plan to enclose the three hills with a fort wall was also prepared and trees were cut off. On the second of the bright half of Asvija, Komarappa examined the forts on the hill and also Kanakuppe and ordered Here Bommayya, the Gurukar in charge of the hill to select 400 men to man the fort at a fixed rate of monthly stipend. On Saturday the eighth of the bright half of Magha, the parapet wall round the hill with a gate was also constructed, and a number of he-buffaloes and sheep was sacrificed together with offerings of cooked rice to the Goddess of the fort. On the anniversary day of his coronation in Margasira, Komarappa (Chikkanna ?) made the hill fort his permanent residence. Kate Nayaka was made the chief of all the Nayaks. In the month of Jyeshtha of the year Dhatu, one palace to the Goddess Katamma and another palace for the royal family were ordered to be constructed. The original wooden gate of the royal palace was later replaced by a stone gate. A well also was made there. In front of the palace a court yard (Sadara chavadi) was also constructed. The gate was well plastered. In the month of Magha of the same year, the king and his family with the army came to the hill to attend the worship of Katamma and Uchchangi Devaru. On the twelfth of the bright half of the same month, they (the royal family) went to Kanakuppe. Uchchangi Devaru was brought from Uchchangi Durga (in Shimoga ?) and was received with due honour by the king and his retinue under the shade of a banyan tree on the road to Bilichedu. On the day of full moon, Kulu (offering of cooked rice) was made. At night on the first of the dark half of the same month, the rite of covering the loins with the leaves of bevu was performed and the next day, the worship of the Ganges in the ditch (Honda) was performed. On the day next to it, the rite of Jogu (see-saw) and Sidi were also* performed.

At Katanayaka's suggestion of the necessity of constructing a street of shops (pete) Baramappa Nayaka of the royal family approved of it and ordered the construction. Accordingly in the year of Isvara, the proposed street of shops was constructed and one Guruvappa Chetty was appointed commercial superintendent (Chetty). In the year Bahudhanya, Katanayaka constructed a tank. In the year of Pramadicha, his father Jempanna also constructed a tank. Katanayaka

* All the religious practices mentioned here are purely Dravidian and no trace of Brahmanic worship can be found.

died and was succeeded by his son Jempanna. He also constructed a tank and a few groves.

In Angirasa corresponding to Saka 1613=1691 A.D. Chikka Baramappa was crowned king of Kanakuppe. He had 3000 horses, 1000 soldiers, 100 elephants. In the year of Yuva (1695) he became deaf. He was therefore sent to Hosadurga and appointed as its Nayak. Jempanna, son of Katanayaka, was crowned. In the year of Kilaka, Telaga Kammara Guruvayya manufactured a gun under the orders of Jempanna. The gun was called Katammalinga.

In the year Prajotpatti, Devaga and Hasaga manufactured another gun and called it Huchchangi. In Vyaya, Ningappa, brother of Katanayaka constructed a palace behind the Anjaneya temple on the hill and in Krodhi he had an inscription carved in two lines on the palace (wall ?).

In the month of Nija Chaitra (a month after the intercalary month) of the year Vyaya, Kerappa constructed a well on the hill. In the year Bahudhanya Channamallappa brought into the fort God Channamalla. He was accordingly crowned.

In the year of Hevilambi (1767 A.D.) Hyder Ali known as the great Nawab besieged the fort. After some time he led the army to Sravanuru on the tenth of the bright fortnight of Bhadrapada. In the year Vilambi, he captured Basavanakote and returning to Kanakuppe, he laid siege for eleven days. On the twelfth day he entered into an agreement with the king. Having kept a regiment near Kanakuppe, he passed to Maddigarahalli and Baramarahalli. A month after taking those villages, he marched to Gudikote and Malakalmuri and captured them. Again he returned to Durga and waged war with the Nayaka of Durga for four months and succeeded in capturing it also. Thereupon he marched to Arcot and died there. Tippu succeeded him.

While returning from Durga, Hyder Ali carried away the golden images and ornaments of Uchchangi Devaru and Katamma. At the request of the Gurukars, Ajis Khan left the gold coat of Katamma and took away the rest. But in Sarvari (1770 A.D.) Khasim took the coat also and sent it to Davalat Khan in Durga. It weighed eighty varahas. He also destroyed the siege guns and breaking them into pieces by throwing them from the hill, sent them to his own camp. Thus the two guns called Uchchangi and Katammalinga together with the gold coat of Katamma were later sent to Seringapatam as ordered by the Sultan. The broken iron pieces were not sent to Seringapatam. Similarly siege guns in Basavanakote and other forts were also destroyed.

The chronicle names a number of persons who constructed wells, tanks groves and temples. The list is too long to quote here and it is enough to say that it is a very good testimony to the general charitable disposition of the people of those days.

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ON A BENGALI CUMULATIVE FOLK-TALE OF "THE OLD DAME LOUSY TYPE."

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, ESQ., M.A.

IN Northern India, there are current a few Accumulation Drolls or Cumulative Folk-tales which do not appear to have as yet been studied and classified by European and American storiologists.

The leading incidents of this group of Cumulative Folk-tales are: (1) The heroine of the story dies; (2) thereupon a bird, in order to give expression to his grief at her death, fasts for several days; and that (3) thereafter, some calamity or distressing incident happens to the other actors in the tale.

The most interesting specimen of this group is a Bengali Cumulative Folk-tale entitled: "The Story of the Death of the Old Dame Lousy," of which the text in Bengali has been published in a Bengali book of nursery-stories bearing the title of "*Ṭunṭunir Bai* [(टुनटुनिर् बइ) or "*The book of the Ṭunṭuni Bird or the Indian Tailor-Bird* (*Orthotomus sutorius*)"]. This book has been published from Calcutta.

As this Cumulative Folk-tale has not yet been translated into English, and is, therefore, unknown to English and American storiologists, I am publishing herein below the English translation thereof:—

The Story of the Death of the Old Dame Lousy.

Once upon a time, there lived an old man and his old wife who was called "Old Dame Lousy", because the hair of her head was infested by an innumerable number of lice, so much so that whenever she stooped down to serve out a platter of cooked rice before her husband, the insects dropped down from her head by numbers on to the rice. One day, her husband, getting greatly enraged at the lice dropping down on to his rice, struck the old lady with a *lathi*. Whereupon she got very angry, broke the cooking-pot to pieces, and left her husband's home.

While going along the bank of a river to goodness knew where, Old Dame Lousy met a paddy-bird who was foraging for food there. Seeing her, the bird enquired of her: "Old Dame Lousy! where are you going to?"

She replied: "My husband has struck me with a *lathi* in a fit of rage, because lice dropped down from my head by numbers on to his rice. I have, therefore, left his home and am going elsewhere."

The paddy-bird rejoined: "Lice are very nice to eat. I wonder why your husband does not like such nice tasty bits. Never mind, what's done is

done. I have heard that you can cook nicely. Do be good enough to accept service in my household as a cook."

To this proposal, she agreed and began to cook for the paddy-bird who liked her cooking very much and also appreciated the lice that dropped down over his meals from her head.

It so happened that, one day, the paddy-bird caught a fine *Śol* fish (*Ophiocephalus striatus*), brought it home, and made it over to Old Dame Lousy, telling her to cook it nicely for him.

While she was cooking the fish, she felt giddy in the head, fell into the cauldron of boiling oil in which the fish was being fried, and was burnt to death.

On returning home from the river-bank, the paddy-bird found that his cook had been burnt to death, whereat he felt greatly distressed in mind, went to the river-bank, sat there in a woe-begone condition, and fasted for seven days and seven nights.

Seeing that the paddy-bird had fasted for seven days and nights, the river enquired : "O brother paddy-bird ! what's the matter with you ? Why have you fasted for seven days ?"

The bird replied : "It's a very sad story. If I tell it to you, your waters will become white all over with foam and froth. You had better not hear it."

The river rejoined : "I care very little if my waters become white with foam. I am so anxious to hear your sad story. Do be good enough to tell it to me."

Whereupon the paddy-bird said :

"1. Old Dame Lousy got burnt to death.
2. The paddy-bird fasted for seven days."

No sooner had these words been spoken by the bird than the waters of the river became white all over with froth and foam.

An elephant used to come daily to that river to drink water therefrom. Seeing that the river-water had become white with froth and foam, he enquired : "O brother river, what's the matter with you ? Why has your water become foamy and frothy ?"

The river replied : "It's a sad story. If I tell it to you, your tail wil drop off."

The elephant rejoined : "I care very little if my tail do drop off. Do be good enough to tell me your sad story."

Whereupon the river said :

"1. Old Dame Lousy got burnt to death.
2. The paddy-bird fasted for seven days.
3. The river-water became foamy and frothy."

No sooner had these words been spoken by the river than the elephant's tail dropped off.

Thereafter leaving the river-bank, the elephant was passing underneath a tree who, seeing that the elephant had lost his tail, enquired: "O brother elephant! what's the matter with you? How is it that you have lost your tail?"

The elephant replied: "It's a sad story. If I tell it to you, all your leaves will fall down."

The tree rejoined: "I shall not care a jot if all my leaves do fall down. Do be good enough to tell me your sad story."

Whereupon the elephant said:

"1. Old Dame Lousy got burnt to death.

2. The paddy-bird fasted for seven days.

3. The river-water became foamy and frothy.

4. The elephant's tail dropped off."

No sooner had these words been spoken by the elephant than all the leaves of the tree fell off.

In that tree dwelt a dove. He had gone out to forage for food. On returning home to his nest, he found the tree entirely devoid of leaves and, getting astonished thereat, enquired: "O tree! what's the matter with you? How is it that all your leaves have fallen off?"

The tree replied: "It's a sad story. If I tell it to you, you will be blinded in one of your eyes."

The dove rejoined: "I shall not care a jot if I become blind of one of my eyes. Do be good enough to tell me your sad story."

Whereupon the tree said:

"1. Old Dame Lousy got burnt to death.

2. The paddy-bird fasted for seven days.

3. The river-water became foamy and frothy.

4. The elephant's tail dropped off.

5. All the leaves of the tree fell down."

No sooner had these words been spoken by the tree than the dove became blind of one eye.

When the one-eyed dove went to forage for food in the field, he met there the Rājā's cow-herd who had taken out the cows to pasture them there. Seeing the dove's blind eye, he enquired: "O dove! what's the matter with you? How have you lost your eye?"

The dove replied: "Oh! it's a sad story. If I tell it to you, your *lathi* will get stuck to your hand."

The cow-herd rejoined: "I don't care a fig if my *lathi* do get stuck to my hand. Do be good enough to tell me your sad story."

Whereupon the dove said:

"1. Old Dame Lousy got burnt to death.
2. The paddy-bird fasted for seven days.
3. The river-water became foamy and frothy.
4. The elephant's tail dropped off.
5. All the leaves of the tree fell off.
6. The dove became blind of one eye."

No sooner had these words been spoken by the dove than the *lathi* got stuck to the cowherd's hand.

He tried hard to shake the *lathi* off his hand; but all his efforts to do so proved unavailing. So he returned with the cows to the Rājā's palace. After his return thither, he again tried hard to shake the *lathi* off his hand. While he was doing so, he was seen by the palace maid-servant who had come thither to throw into the dust-bin a broken—winnowing—fanful of ashes.

Seeing him violently shaking his hand, she enquired: "O beggarly brat! what's the matter with you? Why are you shaking your hand so violently?"

The cow-herd replied: "Oh! it's a sad story. If I tell it to you, the winnowing-fan will get stuck to your hand."

The maid-servant rejoined: "I don't care a fig if the winnowing-fan do get stuck to my hand. Do be good enough to tell me your sad story."

Whereupon the cow-herd said:

"1. Old Dame Lousy got burnt to death.
2. The paddy-bird fasted for seven days.
3. The river-water became foamy and frothy.
4. The elephant's tail dropped off.
5. All the leaves of the tree fell down.
6. The dove became blind of one eye.
7. The cow-herd's *lathi* got stuck to his hand."

No sooner had these words been spoken by the cow-herd than the winnowing-fan got stuck to the maid-servant's hand.

Seeing that the winnowing-fan had stuck to her hand, the maid-servant began to weep aloud and tried hard to shake it off her hand. But her efforts to do so proved fruitless. At last, abusing the cow-herd boy, she returned to the palace.

After returning to the palace, she again tried to shake the winnowing-fan off her hand. But again her efforts proved unavailing.

In the meantime, the Rāṇī, with a bell-metal platter in her hand, was going to serve out the cooked rice to the Rājā. Seeing the maid-servant's

woeful condition, she enquired: "O maid-servant! what's the matter with you? How is it that the winnowing-fan has got stuck to your hand?"

The maid-servant replied: "O Rāṇī mother! it's a sad story. If I tell it to you, the bell-metal platter will get stuck to your hand."

The Rāṇī further replied: "Is it true? Tell me your story; and I shall see how the bell-metal platter will get stuck to my hand."

Whereupon the maid-servant said:

"1. Old Dame Lousy got burnt to death.
2. The paddy-bird fasted for seven days.
3. The river-water became foamy and frothy.
4. The elephant's tail dropped off.
5. All the leaves of the tree fell down.
6. The dove became blind of one eye.
7. The cow-herd's *lathi* got stuck to his hand.
8. The maid-servant's winnowing-fan got stuck to her hand."

No sooner were these words spoken by the maid-servant than the bell-metal platter got stuck to the Rāṇī's hands. She tried hard to shake it off her hands but to no purpose. Thereupon she dished up the cooked rice in another platter and served it out to the Rājā.

Seeing the bell-metal platter sticking to the Rāṇi's hands the Rājā enquired: "O Rāṇī! what's the matter with you? Why is the bell-metal platter sticking to your hands?"

The Rāṇī replied: "O my lord! it's a sad story. If I tell it to you, you will get firmly stuck to the wooden seat whereon you are sitting."

At this, the Rājā burst out into a loud guffaw and rejoined: "Never mind; I am quite willing to be placed in that sorry plight. Do be good enough to tell me your story forthwith."

Whereupon the Rāṇī said:

"1. Old Dame Lousy got burnt to death.
2. The paddy-bird fasted for seven days.
3. The river-water became foamy and frothy.
4. The elephant's tail dropped off.
5. All the leaves of the tree fell down.
6. The dove became blind of one eye.
7. The cow-herd's *lathi* got stuck to his hand.
8. The maid-servant's winnowing-fan got stuck to her hand.
9. The Rāṇī's bell-metal platter got stuck to her hands."

No sooner had these words been spoken by the Rāṇī than the Rājā got firmly stuck to the wooden seat whereon he was sitting. He tried hard to rise from the seat; but all to no purpose. At last, he sent for his servants

who came and did their best to detach him from the wooden seat to which he had got stuck. But all their efforts in this behalf proved abortive. At last, four of them hoisted him up with the seat sticking to him, carried him to the durbar-hall and seated him there.

Seeing the Rājā's pitiful condition, all the members of his durbar were thrown into a pretty fix. Some of them felt inclined to laugh at the Rājā's ridiculous plight, but could not do so for fear of incurring his displeasure. While the rest felt curious to know the cause of his sorry plight but could not make the enquiry out of sheer fear.

At last, the Rājā himself said: "Do you want to know how I have got stuck to this wooden seat?"

With the palms of their hands joined together, all the members of the durbar replied: "Yes, Mahārājā! we are very much anxious to know it."

The Rājā rejoined: "It's a sad story. If I tell it to you, all of you will get firmly stuck to your respective seats."

Thereupon all the members of the durbar further said: "O Mahārājā! when you yourself have got stuck to your own seat, it is meet and proper that we all should also share with you the same ridiculous plight."

Whereupon the Rājā said:

"1. Old Dame Lousy got burnt to death.
2. The paddy-bird fasted for seven days.
3. The river-water became foamy and frothy.
4. The elephant's tail dropped off.
5. All the leaves of the tree fell down.
6. The dove became blind of one eye.
7. The cow-herd's *lathi* got stuck to his hand.
8. The maid-servant's winnowing-fan got stuck to her hand.
9. The Rāṇī's bell-metal platter got stuck to her hands.
10. The Rājā got stuck to the wooden seat whereon he was sitting."

No sooner were these words spoken by the Rājā than all the members of the durbar got firmly stuck to their respective seats, so much so that all their attempts to rise from the same proved abortive.

Now there lived in that country a very clever barber who, on being sent for, arrived in the Rājā's durbar-hall and advised that a carpenter should be immediately sent for.

This was done; and the carpenter, shortly afterwards, arrived there. He then freed the Rājā and all the members of his durbar from their ridiculous plight by sawing off the wooden seats sticking to them. The bell-metal platter sticking to the Rāṇī's hand, the winnowing-fan adhering to the maid-servant's

hand, and the *lathi* fixed to the cow-herd's hand were similarly removed by sawing them off from their respective fore-arms.

In the course of my survey of the folklore of the district of Chittagong in Eastern Bengal, I have come across the under-mentioned nursery-rhyme:—

1. Dame Lousy has died.
2. The paddy-bird has been fasting for seven days.
3. The water of the river has become filled with the floating confervæ.
4. The eyes of the *mainā* bird, (who is) a cultivator, have become blind.
5. The scythe has been sticking to the hands of the day-labourer.
6. The sesamum have become void of kernel and have been reduced to husks.
7. The broomstick has been sticking to the hands of the maid-servant.
8. The broomstick called *pichhā* has been sticking to the mother-in-law's hands.
9. The bamboo ladle for stirring the boiling rice with has been sticking to the hands of the eldest daughter-in-law.

10 and 11. O *mainā* bird! come, come (and) give a kiss on the golden mouth of my darling baby.

I am inclined to think that the preceding rhyme is the epilogue (narrating all the incidents of the story) which is tacked on to some Cumulative Folk-tale which is current in the district of Chittagong but the full text of which is unknown to me.

Lines 2 to 9 of this rhyme seem to describe the sorrow with which men, birds and even inanimate objects have been stricken at the death of Dame Lousy. Lines 10 and 11 hereof seem to suggest the idea that the *Mainā* bird is being asked to forget his grief at the death of Dame Lousy, and to come and give the darling baby a kiss.

On comparing the incidents of this Chittagong Cumulative Folk-tale with those of the preceding one, I am of opinion that the one bears a striking similarity to the other.

Generalizing the incidents of both these folk-tales I fix their story-radical as follows:—

(1) The heroine of the tale, whose name is Dame Lousy, dies.

(2) Thereupon, a bird, in order to give vent to his grief at her death, fasts for several days.

(3) Thereafter, some calamity or distressing incident happens to the other actors in the tale.

(4) In one case, some of these latter actors are extricated out of their distressing situation.

The Folklore Society of London has fixed the undermentioned story-

radicals of the three following types of Accumulation Drolls or Cumulative Folk-tales :—

I. Titty Mouse Type.

1. Animals set in partnership ; one dies, the other mourns.
2. Other objects mourn in sympathy till there is universal calamity.

II. Old Woman and Pig Type.

1. Old woman cannot get pig over stile ; she asks dog, stick, fire, water, ox, butcher, rope, rat, cat to help her.
2. Cat does so on condition, and sets rest in motion till pig jumps over stile.

III. Henny Penny Type.

1. Hen thinks sky is falling, goes to tell king, and meets cock, duck, goose, turkey.
2. At last they meet fox, who leads them to his own den and eats them up.*

On comparing the story-radical fixed by me with the aforementioned three which have been typified by the Folklore Society of London, I find that the two Cumulative Folk-tales forming the subject-matter of this paper do not fit into any one of the last-mentioned three types. I am, therefore, of opinion that the two stories which have been dealt with and discussed in this article belong to an altogether new type which I have named "*The Old Dame Lousy Type*," and which, I hope, the storiologists of Europe and America will accept.

In this connection, it will not be out of place to mention here that an approximate Indian analogue of the two foregoing Cumulative Folk-tales is a Punjābi story which has been collected and published by Mrs. F. A. Steel under the title of *The Death and Burial of Poor Hen-sparrow.*† All the incidents of this Punjābi variant, which clearly belongs to the *Titty Mouse Type*, are lucidly set forth in the following epilogue thereof and will show how very similar several of them are to those of the two Cumulative Folk-tales dealt with and discussed in this paper :—

"The ugly hen painted.
By jealousy tainted,
The pretty hen dyed.
Bewailing his bride,
The cock, bald and bare,
Sobs loud in despair ;

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* *The Handbook of Folklore.* By C. S. Burne, London : Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd., 1914, Page 355.

† *Tales of the Punjab*, By F. A. Steel, London : Macmillan and Co., 1894, Pages 148—158.

The *pīpal* tree grieves
By shedding its leaves ;
The buffalo mourns
By casting her horns ;
The stream, weeping fast,
Grows briny at last ;
The cuckoo with sighs
Blinds one of its eyes ;
Bhagtu's grief so intense is,
He loses his senses ;
The maid-servant waiting
Has taken to railing ;
The Queen, joy enhancing,
Takes refuge in dancing ;
To aid the mirth coming,
The Prince begins drumming ;
To join in it with her
The King strums the zither ! "

" So they danced and sang till they were tired, and that was how every one mourned poor cock-sparrow's pretty bride."

MADRAS RECORD OFFICE

NOTES.

The Satavahanas.

I am bound to form and express an opinion on the issues raised in the article, "THE HOME OF THE ŚĀTAVĀHANAS" published in a recent issue of this Journal (above, Vol. XIII, 1923, p. 591 ff.), in which the author, Mr. T. N. Subramaniam of Kumbakonam, cites and criticises a certain theory regarding the home of the so-called Āndhra kings which, I believe, I was the first to formulate. In 1919, I published a short article in the first issue of the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute* (pp. 21–42) drawing attention to certain prevailing misconceptions about the Śātavāhanas. This article is the subject of Mr. Subramaniam's criticism. While admitting the validity of my main thesis that the Śātavāhanas are *not* Āndhras and that their original home was *not* Āndhradeśa, he takes exception to other statements in the body of my article which, according to him, *contradict* the main thesis. It is not my intention to go into details and to take up space which can probably be ill spared. I shall therefore content myself with correcting the erroneous impression created by Mr. Subramaniam's note, which in part misquotes my words and misrepresents my views.

I have nowhere asserted that "the Śātavāhanas *have* to be looked upon as belonging to the tribe of the Āndhras", as Mr. Subramaniam appears to think (above, p. 592). That is only one of the alternatives considered and rejected by me. Assuming *for the sake of argument* that the Puranic view is correct, I wrote, "*If*" (in order to reconcile the Puranic statement with our conclusion)—"If.. the Śātavāhanas have to be looked upon as belonging to the tribe of the Āndhras, then" certain consequences will follow (*ABI*, Vol. I, p. 41). Further on in the course of the same paragraph I reject the alternative proposed as improbable, concluding the paragraph with the words: "But it is after all conceivable that the Śātavāhanas may not have been Āndhras. ..For there is nothing improbable in the assumption that the founders of the Śātavāhana dynasty were originally the vassals of the Āndhra sovereigns, of whom it may, with assurance, be affirmed that at or about the time of the rise of the Śātavāhanas they were the most powerful potentates in the Deccan."

I must frankly admit, however, that the wording of the last paragraph of my article under reference is rather abstruse and apt to confuse and mislead a casual reader. I welcome therefore this opportunity to restate my old views more lucidly as follows. I hold: (1) that no cogent reason having been shown for connecting the *early* Śātavāhana kings with the Āndhradeśa, their activity should be regarded as restricted to the western and south-western portion of the Deccan; only later kings of this dynasty extended their sway eastwards so that subsequently even the

Āndhradeśa was included in the Śātavāhana dominions; the Śātavāhana migration was from the west to the east ; (2) that the Śātavāhanas are different from and should not be confused with the Āndhras mentioned in Greek and Chinese chronicles ; (3) the home (or the early habitat) of the Śātavāhanas is to be sought for on the western side of the peninsula and is *perhaps* to be located in the province then known as Śātavahani–hāra—a province of which the situation is unknown or uncertain.

I see at present no reason to alter my views regarding the date of the Myākadonī inscription, and I am not prepared to accept the date proposed for it by Mr. Subramaniam. I will admit, however, that Mr. Subramaniam has offered a very happy explanation of the Puranic anomaly. He points out that even the oldest Puranas are not older than the third century A.D. Thus at the period when the earliest Puranas were compiled, the Śātavāhanas had been established firmly, for over a century, as a paramount power in the Āndhradeśa. Moreover it is highly probable that about that period they had been relieved of their possessions in the west. The Puranic chroniclers thus knew the Śātavāhanas only as the rulers of the Āndhradeśa, and probably *mistook* them for Āndhras. This explanation is much simpler and more satisfactory on the whole than that I have offered in my article.

V. S. SUKTHANKAR.

CORRESPONDENCE.

St. Thomas and the Cross.

TO

THE EDITOR,

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.

SIR,

We find one outstanding fact common to the several oral and recorded versions of the tradition relating to the Apostle St. Thomas' evangelistic activities in South India. It is that the apostle set up crosses for worship in every one of the seven places in Malabar where churches were founded by him. Witness the following extracts from a Malayalam song which, as the song itself says, was "abridged by Rev. Thomas XLVIII in 1601 A.D. from the history of the Apostle Thomas' glorious evangelization of all India, written by his ancestor Rev. Thomas II", * a disciple of the Apostle himself. †

* *Lines* 433—445 of the song. See Rev. F. Bernard's *The St. Thomas' Christians* (in Malayalam), Ch. III, pp. 78 and 79.

† *Ibid.*, p. 61.

I. *Lines* 48, 55 and 56. St. Thomas the Apostle

" Came to Mālyānkara (near Cranganore) in December (51 A.D.)
And there for worship constructed
A church together with a cross."

II. *Lines* 67, 78, 71 and 72.

" In the village of Quilon for one year
He preached the way (religion).
A cross for worship
There he set up."

III. *Lines* 73, 74, 79 and 80.

" Travelling north-east (he)
Reached Trikkapālīśwaram (near Niraṇam)
A cross for worship
He set up there also."

IV. *Lines* 82, 87 and 88.

(He) " reached the mountainous city of Chāyal.
Along with the system of worship, a cross
He established for that place also."

V. *Lines* 113, 114, 120.

" Travelling north-west (from Niraṇam),
He reached the village of Gōkkamangalam (near Shertala)
And set up a cross there."

VI. *Lines* 122, 127 and 128.

He " reached Kōṭṭakkāyal (modern Parur).
A cross and arrangements for worship
He established for that place also."

After setting up crosses in the above seven places—Cranganore, Quilon, Niraṇam, Chāyal (modern Nilakkal), Kōkkamangalam, Parur and Pālūr—in the present Malayalam country he passed to Mylapore in the Tamil land and put up a church and a cross there also. (Lines 175 and 176). It may be well to recall here that the stone cross with a Pahlavi inscription dug up by the Portuguese in 1547 and now on view over an altar in the Church of the Madonna on the Great Mount (Mylapore) is believed to have been one set up by the Apostle himself.*

But I suppose that the practice of setting up crosses for worship did not come into vogue in the first century of the Christian era. Can we infer from this circumstance taken along with the statement about the setting up of crosses in the above song, that Christianity in Malabar does not date from the first century and that it was not the first Apostle Thomas who evangelized that country?

Training College,
Trivandrum.
16—5—1923.

Yours faithfully,
T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

VII. *Lines* 134—136, 141—144.
He " travelled north
And thus in half a month
Reached the village of Pālūr (in Br. Malabar).
That the people may all perform
Worship and religious rites
He set up there
A cross of beautiful pattern."

* See Yule and Cordier's *Marco Polo*, Vol. II, p. 358 (Murray, 1903).

REVIEWS.

A Antiga India E O Mundo Externo.

"*Ancient India and the Outer World*" is a thesis by Mr. Panduranga Pissurlencar of Sunguelim, Goa, in the Portuguese language. Its purpose is to trace briefly the relations of India with foreign countries from remote periods of ancient history to the twelfth century of the Christian era.

The author's acquaintance with many western and eastern languages enables him to collect much of the result of orientalist research that bears on his subject and he shows much ability in grouping the evidence thus obtained so as to hold the attention of the reader.

Various facts relating to the commercial relations of ancient India, her political embassies, her religious missions, and the influence exercised by her science and art are compiled in connection with the known continents, to each of which a chapter is devoted. Where conclusions have been drawn from mere hypotheses, the value of conflicting opinions is discussed and appraised with judgment and discrimination.

A final chapter, termed 'retrospective' by the author, treats of the truly wonderful achievements of early Indian explorers and navigators. India has freely given of her best to the outer world and she has not disdained to receive from others when she came into contact with foreign civilizations. This high ideal of the progress of humanity as a whole has been her glory in the past, and it is a prophecy of her destiny in the future.

Mr. Pissurlencar's work is well worth translation into a language that is more widely known than Portuguese.

E. da C.

Conservation Manual.

BY SIR JOHN MARSHALL, KT.

THE manual is a welcome publication and its utility as a guide book to the junior archæologist cannot be lightly touched upon. Its value is enhanced coming as it does from the pen of an accomplished archæologist, who from his vast and varied experience of the work may be expected to offer practical hints which no Government order, however detailed and perfect, can give. The book is another example of the keen interest evinced by the author in the preservation of the ancient monuments in this country, which are the main, if not the only, symbols of the glorious past of this ancient land.

T. S.

The Hindu Message—Vol. XI, No. 26—26th April 1923.

THE Journal maintains its high level and has produced a worthy number in commemoration of the Jayanthi celebrations of Sri Sankara and Sri Ramanuja which synchronise every year. There are a dozen solid articles besides poems contributed by well-qualified persons which will amply repay perusal.

The periods of these two Acharyas are remarkable for unparalleled national upheaval in which religion played not a very inconsiderable part, which resulted in the attainment of such a high glory that Hinduism was never afterwards challenged for religious supremacy in India. Though divided only by two or three centuries, these Acharyas represent two distinct schools of orthodoxy which differ much in philosophical outlook giving room for misconception at the hands of unsympathetic bigots. The two scholarly articles "The Meeting Place of Sri Sankara and Sri Ramanuja" and "Sri Ramanuja's Criticism of Sankara Darsana" by A. V. Gopalachariar and S. Kuppusamy Sastry respectively bring to light many of the common features of these differing philosophers.

The article "Sri Ramanujacharya's Gita-Bhashya as Literature and as Philosophy" by K. S. Ramaswamy Sastri should also dispel another common misconception that Ramanuja's style is terse and severely argumentative. Mr. Sastri truly observes "One great distinction of Sri Ramanujacharya's *Gita-Bhashya* is the combined distinction and simplicity of its style. It abounds in supremely beautiful prose devotional lyrics. The very introduction is aquiver with tense devotional emotion." "Sources of the Religion and Philosophy of Sri Ramanuja" by T. T. Rangachariar provides much food for thought on some of the vexed questions such as the identity of Badarayana and Vyasa, the date of Pancharatra, etc. The other interesting articles are strongly recommended to students of philosophy and religion. We cannot conclude without referring to the brilliant opening article from the pen of K. Sundara Rama Iyer on "The Realism of Sri Sankaracharya." No philosophy is so misunderstood both inside and outside India as Sankara's monism and the present article which is a clear and succinct exposition of its tenets will, we hope, remedy this misunderstanding. The professor's following remarks are noteworthy: "What we want to insist upon is that for Sankara, 'Knowledge is relative to the object' in external perception. He is not a subjectivist. He does not hold that the external object in material perception is a purely mental existent which is projected into the outside world and cognised there, by a purely hypothetical process, either intuitive or inferential. Sankara recognizes that the manifested world of matter (and the seed of Prakriti from which it is brought forth at the time of creation) is essentially an objective reality to its perceiver and that it lasts as long as perception lasts, but is liable to be stultified when the perceiver turns his mind inward in yogic meditation and gains the realization of the one self-effulgent and everlasting Self, absolute and free from all inguinating relationships to any other object, inner or outer."

K. D.

Sri Vaikhanasan.

THIS is a religious monthly in Tamil published from Pannimadai, Coimbatore District, pertaining to the sect of Vaikhanasas, a class of Sri Vaishnava temple priests in South India. The Agama or Tantra literature of our country is yet shrouded in mystery; and a scientific study of the same will, we are sure, throw much light on the dark period of the early history of India. We therefore welcome a journal of the kind conducted by one of its own members.

Vaikhanasa and *Pancharatra* form two distinct modes of worship in Vishnu temples from a very ancient time, though their exact origin and date cannot be asserted with any certainty. *Vaikhanasa*, which, tradition says, was propounded by Rishi Vikhanasa who, at the behest of God, descended to the earth to worship Him in His image form (Archavatara), was no doubt the most prevalent form that was obtaining in Vishnu temples before the advent of Sri Ramanuja, the great religious reformer and the recognized founder of the present day Vaishnavism in Southern India. After him, however, Neo-Vaishnavism is distinctly partial to *Pancharatra* which apparently had sunk into insignificance during the religious upheaval of the early centuries but was revived by Ramanuja on a far reaching scale as the basic principle of religion and philosophy, so much so that *Vaikhanasa*, in spite of its claim that Marichi, Bhrigu and Kasyapa were its exponents, gradually sank to be an abject adjunct of *Pancharatra*. It is, therefore, a welcome sign that the sect is asserting its individuality and tries to preserve its ritualistic treasures free from admixture.

The present number opens with an article on the "Vaikhanasa Varṇasrama Dharma" and is followed by another on the Religious Endowment Bill recently passed by the Madras Government. The importance of an organization for the sect is discussed in the next and we are then led to an interesting question whether Ambarisha was a Vaishnava from the womb which is based on the Adbhuta Ramayana wherein the king is said to have taken birth with a disc and conch. There are also extracts, short notes and letters which will repay perusal.

The journal is in its infancy and we trust that, with better patronage, it will improve both in matter and get-up.

K. D.

THE STORY OF MANKIND by Hendrik Van Loon through The P. T. I. Book Depot, Bangalore and Madras (the S. I. Agency of Messrs. George G. Harrap & Co.) is a remarkable book and will be noticed in detail in the October number.

Perfume of Earth.

BY H. CHATTOPADHYAYA.

THIS is a book of poems published by the well-known Shama'a Publishing House of Madras conducted by that cultured and talented lady, Srimati Mrinalini Chattopadhyaya, the sister of the famous poetess Sarojini Devi. The author who is the brother of the poetess and the publisher has naturally the gift of poetry in him. In addition to a number of beautiful lines that he frequently writes in the pages of that high-class journal of light and culture, The Shama'a, he has published two books, *viz.*, "The Feast of Youth" and "The Coloured Garden" which are spoken of highly by such eminent poets and writers like Laurence Binyon, James H. Cousin and Sri Arabindo Ghosh. The author has now followed up these two earlier works with two companion volumes, "The Magic Tree" and "The Perfume of Earth," the former of which has earned warm praise by our world-famous poet Sir Rabindranath Tagore. He says, "Your Magic Tree has given me genuine delight and I once again greet you as a poet of rare distinction."

The "Perfume of Earth" gives the reader equal delight and shows the power of vision and the maturity of thought and imagination the author has risen into with the lapse of years. The Indian soul is always at a disadvantage to pour itself out in the cadence of a foreign tongue but the young author's heart is so enraptured with the vision of the Divine in Nature and Life that it has broken the bonds of language and has given vent to his feelings in easy, flowing and lucid words. The book contains a collection of 18 poems and is concluded by a wonderful rhapsody of a Play called "The Marriage of the Rat." The poems are all on such common subjects as The Tree, Rain, Fruit, The Peacock, Camels, Mouse-trap and so on but the imagination and the vision displayed in the lines invest them with much beauty. For example, the following lines on Famine that struck us as amongst the most beautiful in the book will illustrate our point—

"God! break my body up and knead it into bread,
Of hunger, lo! how many infant lives are dead.

"O! draw my blood into your clouds and let them burst
In showers of mercy, for the women die of thirst.

"Make thou a lightning of my soul and, at a stroke,
Free poor men who bleed beneath the tyrant's yoke."

We believe the poet is at his best in "The Marriage of the Rat." His powers of expression are on their trial in this Play and he has succeeded exceedingly well. The thoughts, ideas and words flow smoothly and pleasantly and the whole play reflects the greatest credit on the author not only for his genius and culture but also for the simplicity and beauty of his style. He is a great dreamer like all poets and in one place he says, or rather he makes the girl in the Play say, (page 49)

"I would rather break beneath my burden of dreams
Than ever seek fulfilment in extremes."

The book makes delightful reading altogether and holds much promise for the rising poet and is a valuable contribution to literature. It is attractively printed and sumptuously got up and is priced three rupees a copy.

B. P.

The Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute,— Number I.

IT will be seen from the brief narrative of the history of the Institute that it was started with the object of promoting Oriental studies and of offering facilities to the existing societies and institutions already engaged in such work. Though there have sprung up, from time to time, several institutions through the enthusiastic efforts of scholars here and there, most of them have either failed in their objects or are not doing any appreciable amount of work for want of sufficient facilities and sustained interest towards their work on the part of the public. A central institution like the Cama Institute is absolutely necessary to keep the smaller ones with comparatively slender resources and to make their influence felt on the larger public by co-ordinating the local activities of the latter by affiliating them, if necessary, as branch or feeder institutions. We hope, this institution will, with the merchant princes of Bombay as its patrons, be able to supply a long-felt want. The fact that the institution has withstood all the vicissitudes, which it had to pass through and which at one time threatened to defeat the objects of the organizers, augurs well for the future.

As regards the contents of the Journal, most of the articles deal with Iranian subjects which had not been largely dealt with anywhere hitherto. Prominent mention may be made of the translation by Mr. L. Bogdanov of the Russian original on the 'Emigration of the Parsis to India and the Mussalman world in the VIII century.' Herein an attempt is made to prove, from Iranian historical data relating to the VIII century, the traditional account of the emigration of the Parsis into India given in the Kissa-i-Sanjan. The date of the emigration which has been previously put down about the year 785 A.D. by Dr. J. J. Modi, on the strength of the traditional account, is supported historically. Dr. R. Shama Sastry in his article 'India under the Iranians' tries to make out that Iranians were in India earlier than even the Vedic Aryans and paved the way for the latter to come and settle in India. He identifies the Asuras of the Vedic literature with the Iranians, afterwards called Parsis. The use of the word Asura in a bad sense in the later Vedic writings is attributed to the discomfiture suffered by the Devas (the Vedic Aryans) at the hands of the Asuras (the Iranians). Assuming the banks of the Indus as the place where the Vedas were chanted, Dr. Shama Sastry concludes that the Iranians (the Asuras of the Vedic literature) once conquered and ruled India. He also quotes in support the inference of Iranian influence drawn by Sir John Marshall and Dr. Spooner on the basis of archæological explorations made at Taxila and at Pataliputra where some temples of the Iranian style are stated to have been discovered. The above view of Dr. Shama Sastry seems to be dissented from in another article on 'Indo-Iranian Migrations' by Dr. P. D. Gune, though somewhat indirectly. Herein it is made out that the Asuras of the Vedic iterature are not Iranians but the Assyrians who never came to India, and according

to this version the identity of the Asuras with the Iranians on which the theory of Iranian emigration into India is based by Dr. Shama Sastry would not be possible. Dr. Gune quotes in his support the works of Prof. Jacobi, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, the late Mr. B. G. Tilak and Prof. V. K. Rajwade. It will thus be seen that the three papers referred to above put forth three different versions about the immigration of the Parsis into India. Coming as they do from equally eminent sources, it is difficult to incline to any one view in the absence of more data. The future historian or archæologist has to decide which of these theories is nearest the truth.

T. S.

The Mysore Census Report of 1921.

WE are very glad to add to our steadily growing Library Parts I and II of the Mysore Census Report forming Vol. XXIII of the Census of India, 1921. The Report proper is dealt with in Part I, Part II being given exclusively to Tables. We believe we are in the right when we say that in no other part of India, has the same masterhand, for three consecutive decennial Censuses, drawn the Report as it has been in Mysore. Is it too much to say that Mr. V. R. Thyagaraja Iyer, M.A., has become the doyen of Census Report writing? The very first Report published by him about two decades ago secured for him an enviable eminence amongst those practised in presenting a bewildering wealth of facts in a manner as instructive as interesting. The next Report introduced some new departures in the intelligent marshalling of facts and the solution of some debated questions relating to religion and caste particularly so as to be acceptable to all right-minded people. Mr. Iyer also managed to give the same information in a smaller compass and better arranged. In the present Report under review much ground that had been covered again and again has very properly been given up thus rendering the reading matter both concise and precise. The whole Report deserves to be dealt with in a series of papers worthy enough to be read before learned Societies. As we fondly hope that the time is not past for such an expectation to be fulfilled we reserve our remarks only to a few points of arresting importance in this informing and illuminating Report. Rightly has the talented Superintendent devoted some attention to discuss the law of the growth of population pressing into his service the latest and most authoritative literature on the subject. After all there is a good deal of truth in what one great authority, Mayo Smith, says in regard to mere theorising on matters of such an elusive and complicated nature. Says he, "the results reached by theory are rather indefinite and altogether unsatisfactory." Chapter IV dealing on religion is of great interest. The term Hindu has been defying definition. In the controversy that is raging about the Religious Endowments Bill one sore point is that the minister-in-charge has given a convenient definition of who a Hindu is. In the 1911 Report a Hindu was taken to be a theist believing in the religious

evolution which will some day, but surely, through worship of God in His various forms (according to the worshipper's ideal) and through good works in his present life or a series of lives, land him in the Godhead. We contend that this definition besides being applicable to other religionists, except the Muhammadan and the Christian, is likely not to be acceptable to all. In other words the conception of the Superintendent's Hinduism represents but one section though a considerable section of Hinduism. Where to put in the congeries of faith most akin to Hinduism is the question. Under the term 'other religions' in paragraph (f) the Brahmo comes. Is his religion different from that of Hinduism? We believe these schismatics have not materially departed from the faith of their fathers to claim a separate religious importance for themselves.

It is really a capital idea that the several castes should be given in their alphabetical order thus allaying much heart-burn that one caste should have a prior mention over the other. Modern education has not, in our opinion, altered the aspect of affairs in this respect. People unfortunately now are more clamant than ever, to create an importance for their particular caste. The cultured Superintendent has some pertinent remarks to offer to those who feel sensitive about such claims. Some funny petitions were received in his office regarding caste returns. These show how the rolling years bring in their train either fresh formation of castes or altered caste names. When will this end is for the broad-minded and patriotic Hindus to solve. Of purpose we do not enter into details not germane to the aims of our Journal. But that is no reason why we should not recommend to our readers a thorough study of this illuminating Report stored with information as helpful to the social worker as it is to the antiquarian.

K. D.

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Director-General of Archæology, Simla—

Conservation Manual by Sir John Marshall.

Superintendent of Archæology, Trivandrum—

Travancore Archæological Series, Vol. III, Part II.—Stone and Copperplate Inscriptions of Travancore by K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer.

The Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona—

"The Virātaparvam of the Mahabharata" by Narayana Bapuji Utgikar.

The University of Madras—

Sir Subrahmanya Iyer's lectures on the "History of the Sri Vaishnavas" by the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao.

Smithsonian Institution, Washington—

Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for the year 1922.

Notes on the Dances, Music and Songs of the Ancient and Modern Mexicans by Auguste Genin.

Fire Worship of the Hopi Indians by J. Walter Fewkes.

Daturas of the Old World and New, by William E. Safford.

Racial groups and figures in the Natural History Building of the National United States Museum.

Purra Tattwa Mandir, Ahmadabad—

Buddha Leela Sara-Sangraha edited by Adhyapaka Dharmanand Kowsangi.

Abhidhammattha Sangraha by Kishorlal Ghanashyama Masharwala.

Rajasabhabhushana Rev. A. M. Tabard, M.A., M.B.E., M.R.A.S.—

Illustrations of the Rock-cut Temples of India by James Fergusson.

Lady Ratan Tata—

"Omar Khayyam" by J. E. Saklatwalla.

Prof. P. Pissurlencar, Goa. (Author)—

A Antiga India E O Mundo Externo.

Srimathi Mrinalini Chattopadhyay (Author)—

"Perfume of Earth."

S. T. Moses, Esq., M.A., F.Z.S. (Author)—

"Fish Supply of Madras."

V. R. Thyagaraja Iyer, Esq., M.A.—

The Kannada Academy Journal :

Vol. II—No. (5)
,, VI—No. (2)
,, VII—Nos. (3) and (4)

Annual Report of the Karnataka Sahitya Parishat (1921)

EXCHANGES.

I. The Editors of :—

1. " HINDUSTAN REVIEW," *Bankipore.*
2. " INDIAN ANTIQUARY,"
   British India Press, Mazagaon, Bombay.
3. "CEYLON ANTIQUARY," *The " Times of Ceylon", Colombo.*
4. " MODERN REVIEW, " *Calcutta.*
5. " THE INDIAN PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW, "
   The College, Baroda.
6. " THE HINDU MESSAGE, " *Srirangam.*
7. " WEDNESDAY REVIEW, " *Teppakulam, Trichinopoly.*
8. " THE SOUTH INDIAN RESEARCH, "
   Vepery, Madras.
9. " THE EASTERN BUDDHIST ", *The Library, Sinshu Otani University, Kyoto.*
10. " THE CHRISTIAN COLLEGE MAGAZINE," *Madras.*
11. " THE EDUCATIONAL REVIEW," *Mount Road, Madras.*
12. " THE VEDIC MAGAZINE," *Lahore.*
13. " ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLANDISCHEN GESSELLCHAFT," *Halle, Germany.*
14. " THE SANSKRIT BHARATHI," *Burdwan, Bengal.*
15. " THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY," *New Haven, Connecticut, U. S. A.*
16. " THE KALPAKA," *Tinnevelly.*
17. " EVERYMAN'S REVIEW," *Madras.*
18. " THE INDIAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW," *Baroda.*
19. " MAN," *The Royal Anthropological Institute, London.*
20. " DJAWA," *Kanarillaan, 13, te Weltevreden, Java.*
21. " MAN IN INDIA," *Ranchi B.N.Ry. (India)*
22. " THE KARNATAKA GRANTHÂMALA," *Mysore.*
23. " THE MYSORE CHRONICLE," *Tumkur.*
24. " THE LOOKER ON ", *8/1, Dacre's Lane, Calcutta.*
25. " THE JAIN GAZETTE ", *Parish Venkatachala Iyer Street, George Town, Madras.*
26. " THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER," *Bombay.*
27. " PRABUDDHA BHARATA, ADWAITA ASRAMA,"
    Mayavati P.O., Almora Dist.
28. " THE SHAMA'A" *Aghore Mandir, San Thome, Madras.*

Publications from :—

II. THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, *Poona.*
III. THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY, *Simla.*
IV. THE GENERAL SECRETARY, BIHAR & ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY, *Patna.*
V. Do "THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY", *Bombay Branch, Bombay.*
VI. Do ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, *1, Park Street, Calcutta.*
VII. Do THE INDO-FRENCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY, *Pondicherry.*
VIII. Do MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, *Boston, Mass., U. S. A.*
IX. THE PUBLISHERS, *"Indian Architecture," Car Street, Triplicane, Madras.*
X. THE REGISTRAR, *Chief Secretariat, Fort St. George, Madras.*
XI. THE REGISTRAR, MYSORE UNIVERSITY, *Mysore.*
XII. THE REGISTRAR, MADRAS UNIVERSITY, *Madras.*
XIII. THE SECRETARY OF—
- (*a*) THE CONNEMARA PUBLIC LIBRARY, *Madras.*
- (*b*) THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, *Hyderabad (Deccan).*
- (*c*) THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, *74, Grosvenor Street, London, W. I.*
- (*d*) THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, *Poona.*
- (*e*) LE BIBLIOTHECAIRE, SOCIETÈ ASIATIQUE, 1. RUE DE SEINE, *Paris.*
- (*f*) THE PUNJAB HISTORICAL SOCIETY, *Lahore.*
- (*g*) THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, *Washington, D. C. (U.S.A.)*
- (*h*) THE BANGIYA SAHITYA PARISHAD, *243/1, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.*
- (*i*) THE PURRA TATTWA MANDIR, *Ahmadabad.*
- (*j*) THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF BOMBAY, *Town Hall, Fort, Bombay.*
- (*k*) THE K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, *172, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.*
- (*l*) ASSOCIATION FRANCAISE DES AMIS, DE L'ORIENT MUSEE GUIMET, *Place d'Jena, Paris (XVI).*

XIV. THE SUPERINTENDENT OF—
- (*a*) ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY, *Southern Circle, Madras.*
- (*b*) RESEARCH DEPARTMENT, *Kashmir State, Srinagar.*
- (*c*) ARCHÆOLOGY, *Trivandrum, Travancore.*

XV. THE CURATOR, *Oriental Library, Mysore.*
XVI. ASSISTANT ARCHÆOLOGICAL SUPERINTENDENT FOR EPIGRAPHY, *Madras.*

NOTICE.

The first six instalments of the Translation by the President of the Mythic Society, of Professor Felix Lacôte's "Essai sur Guṇaḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā" were published in Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, of Vol. IV, No. 4 of Vol. V and No. 3 of Vol. VI of this Journal. At the request of many members, the Translator has kindly promised to issue the rest of the work without any further delay. As his intention is to publish the whole translation in Book form, which, however, will not be for sale but only for presentation, the subsequent instalments will be published with the Book pagination. In addition, 250 copies of the first six instalments have been reprinted from Vols. IV, V and VI of the Journal, so that members who have joined the Society after the publication of Vol. VI can get reprints of those instalments at the cost of Rs. 1–8 by applying to the Curator, Mythic Society, Daly Memorial Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore City.

The following is a Summary of what has already appeared in this Journal:

FOREWORD

PREFACE

INTRODUCTION

PART I.

GUṆĀḌHYA AND THE PAIÇĀCĪS.

Chapter I. The Reality of Guṇāḍhya

Chapter II. The Legend of Guṇāḍhya

Chapter III. The Paiçācīs.

PART II.

THE SEVERAL VERSIONS OF THE BṚHATKATHĀ.

Chapter I. The Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā

A. The Kathāsaritsāgara

B. The Bṛhatkathāmañjari.

THE EDITOR.

C

THE CASHMERIAN ORIGINAL.

I. The Author is anonymous.

The Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā shows itself, beyond any possibility of doubt, as a compilation and not as an original work.

The first proof is that it has no author's name. If it had borne any, Somadeva, who is always very particular, and who prides himself on his accuracy would certainly have mentioned it. One might perhaps say that this would have served no purpose, as it was clear from the text itself that the author was Guṇāḍhya. The Cashmerians themselves had not the slightest doubt that theirs was the original Bṛhatkathā. If we accept that argument it follows that if, in the Kathāsaritsāgara, the opening remarks to the effect that it was only a summary from another's work, had been lost, as well as all the colophons which reveal its title and the author's name, there would have been nothing to prevent us from accepting it as a literal version, perhaps even as the very original of the Bṛhatkathā. In my opinion, the contemporaries of Somadeva could not possibly make a mistake on that point, inasmuch as the great Prakrit collection went by the name not of Bṛhatkathā but of Bṛhatkathāsaritsāgara. Is there any reason then to wonder that it is anonymous? I think not, as it is improbable that the compiler or the successive compilers of the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā had rewritten the poem. They had simply contented themselves with collecting and tying together, the best way they could, disparate books. This is the task of copyists rather than the work of artists.

Still the unity of those books did not consist entirely in their being grouped together under one title, or on being strung on the same string. There is no doubt that the last compiler, at least, has attempted to give to those books an apparent sequence by the arrangement he has imposed on his material, but not only has he failed in his object, but he has also neglected to recast the subject matter. His labour cannot then merit for him the name of author, or give him a claim to be known to posterity by his own name.

II. The Order of the Books.

That the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā was incoherent, Somadeva warns us himself tacitly, when he explains how he has dealt with his original and by what principles he has been guided in his undertaking. It is evident that this passage in his work is the key to the problem with which we are concerned, but it is of the utmost importance to study it carefully, for it has been translated in several different ways:

K.S.S. 1, 10-12: yathā mūlam tathaivaitan na manāg apy atikramaḥ
granthavistarasaṃkṣepamātram bhāṣa ca bhidyate * 10
aucityānvayarakṣā ca yathāçakti vidhīyate †

* matrābhāṣa ca vidyate, Brockhaus, Peterson ; mātram bhāṣa ca vidyate, Hall (Vās p. 23 n.), S. Lévi.

† abhidhīyate, Brockhaus, S. Lévi.

SL
69424 Ori: lm NO N10.13.

kathārasāvighātena kavyāmçasya ca yōjanā 11
vaidagdhyakhyātilobhāya mama naivāyam udyamaḥ
kiṃ tu nānākathājālasmṛtisaukaryasiddhaye 12

Brockhaus translates thus :—

"Wie das ursprungliche Werk, so ist auch dieses, man wird nirgends die geringste Auslassung bemerken ; nur die Sprache ist gedrangter, um die zu grosse Ausdehnung des Buches zu vermeiden. Den Kraften gemass habe ich mich bemuht, den passendsten Ausdruck zu wahlen, und indem die verschiedensten Gemuthsstimmungen in den Erzählungen dargestellt worden, ist ein Werk entstanden, das zu den Gedichten gerechnet werden kann. Meine Arbeit entsprang nicht aus Begierde nach dem Ruhme der Gelehrsamkeit, sondern um leichter dem Gedachtniss das bunte Mahrchennetz zu bewahren."

"As in the original work, so also in this one, there is not anywhere the least omission ; only the language is more compact in order to avoid the book becoming too large. I have endeavoured as much as possible to choose the most suitable expressions, and while describing in the stories the various movements of the passions (rasas), a work has been produced which may be considered a piece of poetry. My work did not spring from the desire to secure the fame of learning, but simply to facilitate the memorizing of that many-coloured net of myths." (*Trans.*)

The following is Wilson's paraphrase (Works, repr., Essays, II, 109): "It corresponds exactly with the original ; there is not the least departure from it, only the style is more compressed in order to avoid the great prolixity of the primitive work. It has also been composed in verse, care having been taken to preserve the arrangement of the text and the interest of the stories. The author adds that his object is 'not a reputation for learning but the hope of enabling the memory more readily to retain the complicated net of narrative invention.' "

Hall translates (Vāsavadattā, Int. p. 23 n.) 10 cd: "It is merely an epitome of the larger work and in the familiar language."

Peterson translates: (Kādambarī (3rd ed.), Introd., p. 96 n.) 10 cd: "It is an exposition (perhaps a rendering or translation) of no more than an abridgment of the complete book."

Translation of S. Lévi : (La B.K.M. de Ksh., J. A. VIII es., VI, 421 and VII, 219-220) : "Such is the original, such is the copy of it. There is not one line which deviates from it. My only work has been to abridge and to translate. I have respected as much as I could the literary fitness and the natural order. I have set up each of the sections of the poem in such a way as not to break off the stories or the passions (rasas). My efforts will not gain for me the reputation of a profound artist. My only object is to help my readers to remember without too great difficulty this enormous mass of stories of every possible kind."

Tawney translates : "This book is precisely on the model of that from which it is taken ; there is not even the slightest deviation, only such language is selected as tends to abridge the prolixity of the work ; the observance of propriety and natural connexion, and the joining together of the portions of the poem so as not to interfere with the spirit of the stories, are, as far as possible, kept in view : I

have not made this attempt through desire of a reputation for ingenuity, but in order to facilitate the recollection of a multitude of various tales."

L. Mankowski's translation : (Der Auszug aus dem Pañc. in Ksh. B.K.M., p. VII-IX) 10 cd :

"Es liegt nichts weiter als eine kurzung des grossen Umfanges des Buches vor, und die Sprache ist eine andere."

" There is nothing to be found but an abbreviation of the voluminous book and the language is different." (*Trans.*)

This author goes on by disputing Brockhaus' translation of Verse 11, in which he takes *kāvya* in its technical sense, and also against the translation of the singular *kāvyāṃcasya* by "each section of the poem" (Lévi and Tawney). For him Somadeva, in this verse, simply warns the reader that he has altered the order of the books only in a *portion* of his poem. How could one explain, he adds with good reasons, that Somadeva speaks of the care he has taken about the composition and the order, if he had altered nothing in the original ? The *portion* referred to is probably the Books from VI to XVIII in which the order of the Kathāsaritsāgara differs from that of the Bṛhatkathāmanjarī.

Mr. Speyer criticises this passage and the translations which have been given of it in the following terms : *

N.B.—Dutch not being generally familiar to French readers I give in German Mr. Speyer's text.

"Beide Uebersetzungen (Lévi et Tawney) sind an zwei gleichen Klippen gestrandet, dem Worte *anvaya* und dem Ausdrucke kāvyāmçasya yojanā. Eine halbbewusst etymologische Eingebung hat Lévi bestimmt an *anvaya* die Bedeutung "natürliche Anordnung" zu knüpfen. Tawney, sich etwas weniger verwirrend, ubersetzt "naturalicshek Zusammenhang", ohne daran zu denken, dass *anvaya* in der Bedeutung "Reihenfolge, Anordnung" nie und nimmer vorkommt. Als grammatischer Ausdruck bezeichnet es "grammatische Construktion" ; ausser diesem technischen Gebrauch hat es zwei Bedeutungen: 1° "Abkommlinge, Abstammung," 2° *anvayas* = anvitatva "das Verbundensein mit"—und in dieser letzten ist es erst brauchbar wenn hinzugefügt ist, womit. So muss hier *aucityānvayarakṣa* nicht als das Bewahren von *aucitya* and anvaya aufgefasst werden, wie Lévi das tut, sondern als das Bewahren von dem *aucityānvitatva*. In Bezug auf die Worte kāvyāmçasya yojanā, bemerke ich, dass die Uebersetzung " the portion of the poem" und "chacune des sections du poeme" nicht zu dem Singular amçasya passt ; hätte Somadeva das damit gemeint, so wurde er den Plural *amcanām* gebraucht haben. Nach meiner Auffassung Steht dort folgendes : "Ich habe nach Kraften die genauen und jeder Situation am meisten angepassten Worte und Ausdrucke beibehalten, und ich habe etwas hinzugefugt damit mein Werk etwas von einem Kunstgedicht habe, ohne aber dadurch dem Interessanten der Erzahlungen Abbruch zu tun." Ueber die Reihenfolge sagt er kein Wort." †

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* Het zogenaamde groote verhaal (de Bṛhatkathā), etc., (Verslagen en Mededeelingen der K. Ak. van Wetenschappen, Afd. Lett., 4e R., D. IX—1907), p. 126 sq.

† Both translations (Lévi and Tawney) suffered shipwreck on the same two cliffs, the word *anvaya* and the expression *kāvyāmçasya yojanā*. A half conscious etymological inspiration had

Before giving my own translation I wish to make a few remarks. It seems to me that Hall (except that his text *vidyate* embarrasses him and that he is wrong in interpreting *bhāṣā by sanskrit,* which forces him to adopt a very distorted explanation), S. Lévi and L. Mankowski are right in seeing in verse 10 an acknowledgment that the Kathāsaritsāgara is a translation : The excellent reading *bhidyate* makes this evident. The *upasaṃhāra,* which follows the Manjarī, mentions the same fact. The original had become very difficult to understand whereas the sanskrit translation is very easy (v. 30).

Mankowski's version is then quite correct, but it is unnecessary to suggest, as he does, *asti* (after *mātram*) ; *granthavistarasaṃkṣepamātram* can be given more naturally as subject to *bhidyate.*

Verse 11 : Ca. . . ca (*not only, but also*), indicates that there is question of an attempt to attain two different objects. First *Aucityānvayarakṣā* ; secondly, *Kāvyāṃçasya yojanā.* As there is no reason to divide the sentence anywhere else but where the rules of grammar invite us to do it, we may put the punctuation after *kathārasāvighātena* and then we shall see in that expression the indication of the means employed to obtain the first result in view. It is twofold : there are two terms in the subject : *aucitya, anvaya*—two in the object : *kathā, rasa.* Have we not got here something like a premeditated equation ? On one side to *aucitya* (*-rakṣa*) corresponds *rasa* (*-avighātena*) ; on the other to *anvaya* (*-rakṣa*) corresponds *kathā* (*-avighātena*). Somadeva wished to *observe* or to *preserve* : 1° the fitness or propriety (*aucitya*)—literary, no doubt—and for that reason he has been careful not to break off the pathetic tone (*rasa*) ; 2° the logical sequence (*anvaya*).*—

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caused Lévi to connect with *anvaya* the meaning of "natural arrangement." Tawney, not erring quite so far, translates *anvaya* "natural adhesion", without thinking that, it never occurs with the meaning of " succession ", "arrangement". As a grammatical expression, it means "*grammatical construction*" ; besides this technical use it has two meanings : 1st. descent, origin; 2nd. *anvaya*= *anvitatva*, "*the being connected with*" and in the latter sense it may only be used when—wherewith—is added. So here *aucityānvayarakṣā* must not be understood as the keeping of *aucitya* and *anvaya* as Lévi does, but as the keeping of the *aucityānvitatva*. In reference to the words *kāvyāṃçasya yojanā* I remark that the translation of the poem and each of the sections of the poem does not fit in with the singular *aṃçasya* ; if Somadeva had meant this he would have employed the plural *aṃçanām*. According to my idea the following is said : "I have, as much as lies in my power, retained the exact words and expressions and those best fitted for any situation, and I have added a few things to give my work something of the character of an artistic poem—without however interfering in the least with what is most interesting in the stories." Of the rank (or succession) he says not a word. (*Trans.*)

* I am surprised that Mr. Speyer should have disputed the justifiableness of this translation. There is not the slightest doubt that *anvaya*, taken as a technical term of grammar, means "*grammatical construction*", but it is ascertained that in the terminology of the *nyāya* it means "*indissoluble association of ideas*" ; in the theory of syllogisms one designates by *anvaya* the invariable concomitance between the mean term (*hētu*) and the great term (*sādhya*)—for instance in the classical example that of fire and smoke—on which is based the induction (*vyāpti*) without which no major of our syllogisms would be established (*Vide* Tarkasamgraha of Annambhaṭṭa with the commentary of the same 40-44). It is hardly stretching the technical meaning of *anvaya* to take that word to mean "the natural connection of ideas" (which is obtained by not breaking off the thread of the narrative).

The means employed *kathā-avighātena* "not to break off the narrative" shows clearly that here is meant the subject-matter and not the style. Somadeva's intention was that stories which are connected by natural association of ideas that is, I think, the successive episodes of the same story, should remain tied together. That double object Somadeva does not flatter himself to have attained completely. He has simply done his best (*yathācakti*).

The second object in view consisted in *kāvyāṃcasya yojanā*. Here Brockhaus has completely gone astray. After having erroneously applied *aucityānvayarakṣā* to the style, he has understood by *avighātena* "to introduce the several sentimental characters" and his conclusion has been that Somadeva had tried to make a regular *kāvya*. Then, according to him, *kāvyāṃcasya* is "the category of kāvyas" or something very like it. It is impossible to uphold that meaning for the word *aṃca*. Mr. Lévi's and Mr. Tawney's translations could be accepted if *aṃca* meant *dividing into parts*. Though, even in this case, *yojanā* would be very difficult to explain ; but *aṃca* means *section*, *part*, and it is impossible to suppose that a word meaning "*each*" must be understood though not expressed. There remain Mankowski's explanation, "*a certain section of the poem*" giving *kāvya* its general sense, and Speyer's, which is rather a paraphrase than a literal translation, but which amounts to this : that Somadeva has added "a part of *kāvya*" that is something of a regular poem, a poetical element. In my opinion the first of those explanations is wrong in not taking *kāvya* in its technical sense and the second in giving *yojanā* an unusual one. Can that word mean also *adjunction*? The usual meanings are, *arrangement*, *disposition*, *construction* (in general and in the grammatical senses) *joining with* (as the second term of a composite word). For me the literal meaning is "*the proper arrangement of a portion of kāvya*".

My translation is then as follows :—" As is the original such is the copy ; it does not deviate from it, even by one line ; I simply epitomize the primitive work and I translate ; that is all the difference. Careful to observe, as far as possible, the literary propriety, and the logical sequence, in doing my best not to break off either the narrative or the spirit of the sentiments expressed, I am no less careful to arrange a portion of a regular poem." (*The rest as in S. Lévi's translation.*)

Thus in verse 10, he assures us of his accuracy ; but in verse 11, he admits that he has made some modifications. One might say that this is a contradiction, but it is not. What he means is that he is accurate as far as the subject-matter goes, but not with regard to the order, nor perhaps to the form. Had he altered nothing, he would not have said that he had found it difficult to keep the proper order and that he has not been completely successful in doing so. That gives us to understand that he has classified some books differently from the order found in the original, and those books cannot be other than VI—XVIII. We may ask, now what is the portion of a regular poem he has *well arranged* : Must we take it, as Mankowski seems inclined to think, that it is Books VI—XVIII? It is difficult to believe that by a *portion* Somadeva means two-thirds of his work. Could he,

besides, pretend that the Kathāsaritsāgara is for the most part a *kāvya*? According to theorists, a *kāvya* may admit of diverse episodes, but the reader must never be allowed to lose sight of the main subject. Besides its essence calls for a certain amount of savoury (*rasātmaka*), and the savoury of a poetical work is the result of the passionate sentiments expressed in it. It is evident that, leaving aside the charm or form which is essential to a genuine *kāvya*, the Kathāsaritsāgara on the whole does not answer at all the first of those conditions and very imperfectly the second. That is why Somadeva claims the name of *kāvya* for a portion only; if he does not make it more explicit which that portion is, it is because he does not believe that one can have any difficulty in recognizing it. It is only that one which has unity, where the narrative is not broken off by a multitude of accessory tales, where we find most of the poetical sentiments according to the treatises on rhetoric, erotic with its two modes—lovers separated, lovers reunited—tragedy, heroism, the marvellous: those can be no other than Books XIV—XV (Pañca-Mahābhiṣeka). Those are the ones Somadeva has *arranged*, those which, if you like, he has not created, but of which he has restored the natural coherence in spite of his great desire to *arrange* the whole in proper order. We have seen already that Somadeva has brought those two books together, inventing even a rapid transition from one to another, and that he has joined to the commencement of his Book XIV the end of the Book of Velā which in Somadeva, and very likely also in the original, contained the account of the disappearance of Madanamañcukā. We said that, without that interpolation the Kathāsaritsāgara would hold together much better, and we could not understand Somadeva's motives. He explains this himself: he wanted to tack on to the abduction of Madanamañcukā its immediate consequences. In so doing, he endangered the logical sequence of the preceding books; but as incoherence could not be avoided since in no way was it possible to have a whole well knit together, he has preferred to secure at least a portion of *kāvya* well arranged.

The whole passage is not so much a protestation of accuracy as an anticipated answer to critics with regard to the plan of the Kathāsaritsāgara. With this in view, verse 12 acquires a more precise meaning. It is not so much an ordinary expression of modesty, as one of excuse. The effort, referred to, is precisely *that* effort (*ayam udyamaḥ*), seemingly that which consists on one hand in arranging the subject-matter in proper order so as not to break off the tone of the sentiment; on the other to have at least a *portion* exhibiting perfect regularity. Somadeva cannot hide from himself that the composition of the Kathāsaritsāgara is very commonplace. He foresees that one could say that it was really not worth while pretending to originality in the general plan when the result is so very disappointing. It is why, after having explained his guiding principle, he excuses himself for not having done better by giving us to understand that he never aspired to produce a masterpiece. He seems to say that if he had himself written the Bṛhatkathā the composition would have been much better, but his object was purely utilitarian: it was only to give a summary in sanskrit verse, in an order the least

objectionable, as far as logical sequence was concerned, and the most convenient to memorize, of all the Books of the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā.

Mr. S. Lévi thinks that Somadeva in laying no claim to be an artist has in mind his predecessor Kṣemendra who makes that very claim. If that malicious intention is in Somadeva's mind it is with regard to composition, no less than to the poetical form. Kṣemendra in putting his "*bouquet*" together has made very free with the narrative—Somadeva has done the opposite—Kṣemendra has hardly taken any pains to improve the plan which would have been better—Somadeva has. Lastly, Kṣemendra has not given that portion of *regular poem* to which his rival attached so much importance and yet he boasts of being an artist! Somadeva gives him a lesson in both art and modesty. Somadeva having first put together the Book Pañca-Mahabhiṣēka, had to find a new place for Alaṃkāravatī, Çaktiyaças and Ratnaprabhā. If we go through the Kathāsaritsāgara we see that it was not easy for him to place these otherwise than he has done. He had not to interfere with the first four. As long as Naravāhanadatta was not born there was no difficulty, besides, the sequence was satisfactory. Then came the original Book V (Cāturdārikā). It is a digression, but it could be kept where it was and Somadeva has kept it. Then followed Sūryaprabhā and Madanamañcukā. It is there that a place had to be found for Ratnaprabhā, Alaṃkāravatī and Çaktiyaças. Those books could be put neither after Mahābhishēka, as they relate to that part of the hero's life when he is not yet a Cakravartin, nor as an appendix like Padmāvatī and Viṣamaçīla, as they contain episodes of his own career and not stories which could be supposed to have been related by him. One can see that Somadeva has no choice in the matter. He has first told himself that Alaṃkāravatī could not be separated from Çaktiyaças, then he has put together the four units Sūryaprabha, Madanamañcukā, Ratnaprabhā, Alaṃkāravatī—Çaktiyaças, so as to have alternately a complete book of digression, and a book containing episodes of the principal story. Madanamañcukā has come first, because Cāturdārikā which precedes it is a mere digression, and Sūryaprabha, which is of the same kind, has been inserted between Ratnaprabhā and Alaṃkāravatī, which are both a mixture of episodes and tales. In this way Somadeva has managed that the hero should not be lost sight of too long. For that very same reason he has eliminated from the group Vēla-Pañca, the two books of Padmāvatī and Viṣamaçīla, which contain nothing personal to Naravāhanadatta; he gives them in an appendix.

One can see that Somadeva applies exactly the principle which he had announced. His aim was to be concise, and, as he had no doubt that he would be easily understood, it is a proof that the Cashmerian collection, though poor and out of fashion, was still accessible to contemporaries. The study of the Manjarī had led us to conjecture that it reproduced the composition of the original. The Kathāsaritsāgara confirms that opinion in supplying us with what we may call a *counter-proof*.

III. The Subject-matter.

To compare the stories in detail hardly leads anywhere, and it would only show the bad taste of Kṣemendra, now dry, now verbose and affected, delighting

at times in erotic pictures, at other times in pious amplifications (Buddhist, Vaishnavite, Saivite, each one can find in him something to his taste). Sometimes however, in the narrative portions he may help to complete Somadeva; more than once, as we have already remarked, he preserves some details eliminated by his successor; in those then we can fully trust him as they go against his method which is to suppress and not to add. We must not lose sight of this when later on we shall compare the stories common to the Cashmerian and to the Nepalese Bṛhatkathā, yet on the whole we could almost always do without him. His book of Çaktiyaças which contains the Pañcatantra is the only one which presents a real originality. Though it includes fewer stories by half than the corresponding book of Somadeva, it contains some which are not found in the latter.*

The result is that his Pañcatantra resembles the more recent collections of those tales much more than that of Somadeva. In Somadeva's work we find many stories aiming for the most part at illustrating the stupidity of man, most of which are found also in the Avadānas; Kṣemendra has reduced that matter to a very short section which comes after the Pañcatantra. Somadeva mixes it up with the fables of the Pañcatantra more especially towards the end and devotes to it almost entirely *tars* (LXIV–LXVI). Which of the two is more accurate? One may believe that, besides the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā, Kṣemendra has before his eyes an independent collection of the Pañcatantra which he wished to follow more closely. Mr. J. Hertel † thinks that he was drawing from the Tantrākhyāyika, recension No. 2. (Çār. B) and that Somadeva gives us a more accurate idea of the primitive Pañcatantra. That question is more interesting for the criticism of the Pañcatantra than for that of the Bṛhatkathā, as we have strong reasons to doubt whether this book goes as far back as Guṇāḍhya. The "*Tale of the Vampire*" in Book IX (Çaçāṅkavatī) calls for similar observations. On the whole they agree with the version given by Somadeva; but No. 5 Ks. corresponds with No. 8 Som. and Nos. 6–8 Ks. to Nos. 5–7 Som.; besides, more especially in No. 8, are found what appear to be serious divergences. Though Kṣemendra, who delights in amplifying those tales may perhaps have introduced details of his own, it is not unlikely that he has made use of a special version of the Vetālapañcaviṃçatikā.

Neither is it absurd to suppose, that the manuscript used by Somadeva was not in all its parts identical with the one Kṣemendra had used, and that though it might have been the same for the rest, it was different with regard to the Books Çaktiyaças and the Çaçāṅkavatī (Vetālas). The books of the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā do not form a unit so well knit together, that one could not easily substitute a new recension of a book for an older one, without interfering with the others. I must say, however, that my search after important divergences in all the other books has given negative results. Everywhere there is an undeniable unity of origin; the argument one might be inclined to base on differences in

* Cf. L.V. Man'kowski, Der Auszug aus dem Panc. in ksh. B.K.M., Einl. et J. Hertel, Eine zweite Rezension des Tantrākhyayikā (Zeitsch. der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft, LIX, P. 10 sq.) et Das Sudliche Pancatantra, P. XXIII.

† J. Hertel.

proper names, disappears as soon as one studies the text more closely. These differences when they are not simply a copyist's error (for instance—*varmah* changed into—*dharman* and *vice versa*) may be explained.

Firstly, the same Prakrit original may give Sanskrit doublets (Ex. *Vedagarba* B.K.M.I. III. 62(n), *Vēdakumbha* K.S.S. VII. 56) though these doublets are very rare and even doubtful as it almost always looks as if it were a copyist's error.

Secondly, whilst both authors keep the essential part of the name, one of them takes the liberty to alter the second part (Ex. *Utpaladatta* B.K.M. 18, 181, *Utpalahasta* K.S.S. CXII, 80 ; *Madanamañjarī* B.K.M. 15, 261, *Madanasundarī* K.S.S. LV. 57, etc.) or to use a synonym (Ex. *Hemaprabhā* B.K.M. 5, 18, *Kanakaprabhā* K.S.S. XXIV, 20, etc.) or else one of them makes use of an hypocoristic (Ex. *Naravāhana* and *Naravāha* B.K.M., *Naravāhanadatta* K.S.S.; *Camara* B.K.M. 15, 22n. *Camarabāla* K.S.S. LIV, 145, etc.).

Thirdly, Kṣemendra preserves a Prakrit or even a Paiçācī form (Ex. *Rātha* B.K.M. 9, 1783, *Rāḍhā* K.S.S. LXXIV, 29, etc.).

Lastly, when the divergence is absolute, we may take it that it is a question of a fancy personage whose name, being unimportant, is *ad libitum*. (Ex. *Bandumatī* K.S.S. XIV, 67, *Rajanikā* B.K.M. 2, 11, 271.) Or again, in this case the proper names are very often omitted by either of the two authors, but more frequently by Somadeva. I have come across only one divergence of the kind which may present a real interest. It is in the episode of Udayana among the Nāgas, the name of the serpent which he rescued. At first sight one might suppose that for this episode Kṣemendra was using another version, inasmuch as he is the only one who mentions the descent of Udayana to the subterranean world, but in studying closely the text of the Kathāsaritsāgara, it becomes evident that the suppression of that detail is due to Somadeva himself and not to the Cashmerian original. Somadeva preserves the mention of the anxiety of Udayana's mother on account of his absence, which supposes a period of time more or less long spent with the Nāgas. On the whole this divergence alone is insufficient to force us to admit the duality of sources.*

To sum up, we have a chance to form a correct idea of the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā in following the Manjarī for the order of the books and the Kathāsaritsāgara for the subject-matter, save complementary details which we must borrow from Kṣemendra.

IV. How the Cashmerian Brhatkatha was formed.

What strikes us at first in the Cashmerian collection is the lack of proportion between the several parts. Neither Somadeva nor Kṣemendra is responsible for it. The relative proportions in the two versions are pretty unequal between the accessory tales and the larger main stories (in Kṣemendra's, Books of *Sūryaprabha*,

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* I have nowhere been able to discover those profound divergences which Krishnamachariar (Priyadarśika, Srirangam 1906—Bhūmikā p. XLIII) pretends to have discovered and on which as well as on the *prāhur* of Dandin he bases a hypothesis that Kṣemendra and Somadeva had known the original only by oral tradition.

Pancatantra very much compressed, Book *Caturdārika* normal, Book *Vetālapañcaviṃçatikā* developed) but they are pretty well constant between all the episodes of the frame story, say an average of five in Somadeva against two in Kṣemendra. It is a proof that both of them reproduce pretty accurately the relative proportions of the episodes in the original. We are then entitled to base our argument on the figures supplied by them. The defect is so apparent when we look at the development of the accessory tales by the side of the brevity of the main story, that it is hardly necessary to insist on that point, but it is no less striking between some episodes of the hero's story. The following comparative statement will make the fact very clear. (The accessory tales have not been taken into account except when they form an inseparable part of the narrative.)

	Books of the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā	Som.	Ks.
2–3	History of Udayana	792 v.	332 v.
4	Birth of Naravāhanadatta	190 v.	54 v.
7	Childhood of Naravāhanadatta	5 v.	,,
	Tale of Kaliṅgasenā	588 v.	223 v.
	Youth and marriage of Naravāhanadatta ..	162 v.	59 v.
8	Marriage with Jayendrasenā (Jinendrasenā)	48 v.	30 v.
	Abduction of Madanamañcukā	13 v.	8 v.
9	Adventures of Lalitalocanā	88 v.	66 v.
11	Meeting and story of the two Brahmans ..	219 v.	83 v.
13	The whole life of Naravāhanadatta from the descent of Vegavatī to the recovery of Madanamañcukā	625 v.	236 v.
14	Marriage with Ratnaprabhā	197 v.	76 v.
	Conquest of Karpūrikā (Karpūramanjarī) ..	276 v.	53 v.
15	Marriage with Alaṃkāravatī	115 v.	40 v.
	Visit to Nārāyana	82 v.	7 v. the nārāyaṇa stuti.
16	Marriage with Çaktiyaças	25 v.	19 v.
17	Conquest of the Northern country and coronation	320 v.	55 v.
18	Visit to Kaçyapa	106 v.	93 v.
	Trial of Suratamañjarī	214 v.	102 v.

The meeting and the story of "The Two Brahmans" may be considered as a digression, but the romance of Kaliṅgasenā and the conquest of Karpūrikā are evidently an integral part of the main story, and are disproportionately long. The second of those episodes bears slightly on the career of the hero. The first episode of the history of Udayana is alone as long as the stories of Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī put together; we find it nowhere else in Indian literature, whereas the other two were very famous; yet, here it is amplified with as much complacency as the other two are compressed.

The adventures of Jayendrasenā, Lalitalocanā, Ratnaprabhā, Alaṃkāravatī and Çaktiyaças, which, though of little interest and going on repeating each other,

seem to have no other object, as far as we can see, but of introducing several groups of tales, total up,—if we leave aside the accessory stories,—to 383 verses in Somadeva's, and 231 verses in Kṣemendra's. That is really too much, if we compare it with those 625 verses in Somadeva, and 236 verses in Kṣemendra of the Book Pañca, which yet contains the essential parts of Naravāhanadatta's life.

By the side of those developed sections the whole of the hero's history looks like a summary. We have already remarked in our previous critical analysis of the Kathāsaritsāgara that—1° Udayana's history, 2° the birth, childhood and youth of Naravāhanadatta and his marriage with Madanamañcukā, 3° the Books Pañca and Mahābhiṣeka are reduced to a mere skeleton in Somadeva's as well as in Kṣemendra's, which means that they were so in the original.

Let us put all these things together. Without attempting an artificial connection, we have a whole, complete, coherent, of good proportions, one in substance and style, comprising Udayana's history, then the history of his son, which commences with the books of his birth, natural transition between the two. I do not hesitate to see in all these facts put together, the first of the elements on which the Cashmerian compiler has set to work. It was a very concise abridgment of the Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya. It admitted only a few tales which had an intimate connection with the substance of the narrative; because, either the Bṛhatkathā did not include any other, or the author had suppressed the others. It is not impossible, that originally the abridgment may have contained other details, which the compiler has transferred to some other parts of his compilation. In fact, if one is not ready to boldly repudiate the authenticity of the adventures of Jayendrasenā, Lalitalocanā, Ratnaprabhā, Alaṃkāravatī and Çaktiyaças, one can admit, if we detach them from the tales which follow them, and suppose that the hero was anywhere but at Kauçambi, that they formed a part of the group which constitutes the Book Pañca. There is no difficulty in finding a place for them between the desertion of Naravāhana by Vegavatī and his abduction by Prabhāvatī. The compilers wishing to use them as an introduction to several groups of tales, may have detached them from the abridgment, and may also have retouched the initial facts, so as to accommodate them to this new destination, but it is as natural to suppose that they have invented them altogether. There is no doubt that the order of contents in the abridgment has been modified. The visit to Kaçyapa and the trial of Suratamanjarī have been put at the end. Udayana's history is placed before the commencement of the adventure narrated by the Cakravartin, that is, it has taken the place of the primitive introduction and been given the title of *Kathāmukha* which is no longer justified.

The following is an attempt to restore in its primitive stage the *abridgment of the Bṛhatkathā*, the first element on which the Cashmerian collection is based :—

1. Kathāmukha : Abduction of Suratamanjarī,—visit of the Cakravartin to Kaçyapa, —judgment of the trial,—Naravāhanadatta is going to narrate his story.

2. Ujjayinī : * i. Sahasrānīka : † Birth of Udayana, his youth, his descent to the Nāga's country.

ii. Vāsavadattā ? : Continuation of his story, his marriage with Vāsavadattā.

3. Lāvānaka : His marriage with Padmāvatī.

4. Naravāhanajanma : Birth of the hero.

5. Madanamañcukā : Youth and first marriage of the hero.

6. Probably several books ; or, only one book with several sub-divisions. The name of the last sub-division—or of the last book—"Pañca" has become the name of the whole.

Vegavatī ? : Successive adventures of the hero.
Gandharvadattā ? ,, ,,
Ajināvatī ? ,, ,,
Bhagīrathayaças ? ,, ,,
Prabhāvatī ? ,, ,,
Sulocanā ? ,, ,,
Pañca : Expedition against Mānasavega. Victory.

7. *Mahābhiṣeka* : conquest of the Northern country and coronation. The short section where Naravāhanadatta learns what has become of Udayana and his followers, which is now the commencement of the present book of Suratamañjarī may have been found here as an epilogue.

This *abridgment* does not justify the reputation of enormous length given by tradition to the Bṛhatkathā, but it contains all that is essential of the history of Udayana and that of Naravāhanadatta and nothing more. Its author has deliberately contented himself with giving a summary of the frame story of the Bṛhatkathā. His aim may have been to help the memory of his readers, who were anxious to remember the plan of the whole work.

I believe that the original Bṛhatkathā, supposing that it has existed for a long time in Cashmere, must have very early ceased to be current under its primitive form. The abridgment, more handy, perhaps also more accommodated to the taste of the readers, soon took its place. Excepting as we have done already, the episodes which one might suppose to have been detached from that abridgment by the compiler, the rest, that is about nine-tenths of the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā, leaves room for serious suspicion. It might be objected that, if that surplus presents the characteristics of a developed narrative, whereas the history of Udayana and of his son appears to us only as an abridgment in most of its parts, may we not conclude that the abbreviator has wilfully given us a summary of the frame story, whilst keeping unaltered the dimensions of the accessory tales? I reply that it is not so as, in that case, we could not saddle the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā with the reproach of being incoherent, and then the frame story would have remained

* Title supplied by the Tamil Bṛhatkathā V. *infra*.

† The name for the first guccha in Kṣēmēndra, who has kept the division of the book in two sections.

really "frame," whereas in the whole work it has become only a "part', grouped as it is between two principal sections, Kathāmukha-Lāvānaka and Pañca-Mahābhiṣeka.

But though maintaining that besides the primitive abridgment we cannot affirm the authenticity of any part, I am still willing to tone down that assertion. The idea which the abbreviator had of detaching the history of the heroes to make a distinct work may have led him to pull the Bṛhatkathā to pieces, in order to give each of the important stories an independent existence. We have good reasons to believe that in former times the episodes of great epic poems were recited as independent poems. Patañjali (*ad* Pān. IV, 2, 60) teaches us how to form names: Yāvakrītika "he who knows the history of Yavakrīta", Praiyaṅgavika "he who knows the history of Priyaṅgu", Yāyātika "he who knows the history of Yayāti", Vāsavadattika "he who knows the history of Vāsavadattā", etc. It seems each rapsode made it a speciality to recite *one* story.

The stories of Çaktivega (Caturdārika), Sūryaprabha, Mṛgāṅkadatta, * minus the tales of the Vampire (Çaçānkavatī), even of Vēla were long enough to deserve the same honour. We draw attention to the fact that at least one of the "lambhakas" of the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā bears a consecrated title, the Caturdārika. We find again this title in that of Caturdārakasamādhisūtra (sz-thuṅ, tsz-sân-mêi, ciṅ), section of the Chinese Sūtrapiṭaka (Class V) No. 121. From that we might conclude that the great tales might have a better authenticity than that of the frame story, as they have been much less compressed. But this must remain a mere hypothesis. Yet it would not be in contradiction with other hypotheses, which appear to us probable, in connection with the formation of the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā. That Bṛhatkathā was not written all at once. When the compiler was writing, the abridgment had already been retouched. Some one had already introduced the story of Kaliṅgasenā, or rather, modified, by expanding it considerably, the episode in which it appeared. The reason of that modification the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā does not give us, but the Nepalese Bṛhatkathā will do it. The successive work of compilation proceeded the more easily, as the notions about the genuine Bṛhatkathā became more obscure. In India itself we see that the genuine Bṛhatkathā, though this was later on, it is true, was known only by hearsay. One of the commentators of the Vāsavadatta of Subandhu, Jagaddhara has only very vague notions about it. He says that it is the history of king Baḍāha (Hall, Vās. Int., 24). He is not the only one that held that erroneous opinion. To the following passages of the Vāsavadatta: *bṛhatkathālambair iva*...(Hall, p. 110) and *bṛhatkathānusāriṇa iva*..(Hall, p. 147), the Madras edition of 1882 saṃvat, p. 41, 23, and p. 60, 2, gives the modern commentary *bṛhatkathā valāhakakathā*. Then the *Baḍāha* of Jagaddhara, which should be corrected to Valāha, would represent a southern tradition†.

There is a Balāhaka mentioned in the Kādambarī. He is a warrior. There

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* This story is divided into two sections (Kṣemendra); later on the Vetālapañcavimçatikā has formed the third which has been inserted between the first two.

† I am indebted for this information to the courtesy of Mr. L. H. Gray.

is a mount Balāhaka, in the island Nārikela (V. *supra*), mentioned in the Kathāsaritsāgara and Hemacandra translates the word by "mountain" (Anek. IV, 23); but I have found no trace of a king Badāha, Valāha or Balāhaka, anywhere else but in the text of the Puruṣaparīkṣā quoted by Hall (Int., 24), which is of the XIV century. The history of that king Badāha, who belongs to the Vikramāditya cycle, has nothing to do with the Bṛhatkathā. In the pali Jātaka, the horse, who is one of the seven gems is said to be of "the Royal Race of Valāha" (Nos. 476 and 546). Does this mean that there is a reference to a king called Valāha? In this case, must we suppose that the Bṛhatkathā very much altered, has also been used as a framework for stories in which the Bodhisattva played a part? The indications are very vague. In any case we are allowed to believe that, very early the original Bṛhatkathā ceased to be known. The indication so manifestly erroneous given by Jagaddhara is a sign of great ignorance.

The first work has been to incorporate in the abridgment famous stories which either existed independently, or were found in other compilations, but which were believed—these may have been serious reasons for that tradition—to have been extracted from the Bṛhatkathā. In this category we are inclined to include the account of the two Brahmans on the *Puruṣakāra*, the journey to the country of camphor, the history of Vēla, the visit to Vishṇu, the stories of Mṛgāṅkadatta, Çaktivega and Sūryaprabha. Supposing that these stories had originally nothing to do with the Bṛhatkathā, one cannot deny that they, especially the last, would have been deeply influenced by it. These tales have been taken in a body into the abridgment; no attempt has been made to recast them in order to bring them into harmony with the dimensions of the whole. The second work has consisted in taking this elementary collection, to make it as a framework for all the famous stories then known, whatever their date or origin. The traditional fame of the Bṛhatkathā must have led the authors to use its personages freely, more especially Gomukha the ingenious story teller, to introduce stories: "Listen to what Gomukha narrated or to what was narrated to Naravāhanadatta," this formula may have become ordinary as an introduction to every possible tale, as we see at the beginning of the story of Viṣamaçilā. The compilers may then have had by them ready made collections quite ready to be inserted in the Bṛhatkathā. They have also detached or invented imaginary episodes, to make use of them as an introduction for entire collections of new tales, and they have stuffed with tales all the episodes which lent themselves to it.

Some collections were a repetition of each other, but the compilers did not mind it; on the contrary, when they met with versions of the same story, though they may have been very much alike, they did their best not to sacrifice either. Here are some instances *Vīravara* (Som., LIII, 86-193 and LXXVIII (*vet.* 4), 5-120 · Kṣ., 15, 189-193 and 9, II, 263-332); *Anaṅgarati* (Som., LII, 92-409, from 169, history of *Anaṅgarati* in an anterior existence) and LXXXIII (*vet.* 9), 5-31; Kṣ. 15, 101-165 and 9, II, 473-486); *Jīmūtavāhana* (Som., XXII, 16-257 and XC (*vet.* 16), 3-201; Kṣ., 4, 50-108 and 9, II, 776-930); *Unmādinī* (Som., XV, 63-78;

XXXIII, 62-66; XCI (*vet.* 17) 3-45; Kṣ., 3, 23-35 and 9, II, 937-969). The most striking instance is the double story of *Caṇḍamahāsena* and *Aṅgāraka*, because one version was found in the abridgment of the Bṛhatkathā, and we can easily see through the contrivance used by the compiler to insert another version which he had found somewhere, in some other collection. The first is supposed to have been narrated by Yaugandharāyaṇa to Udayana, in order to make him afraid of Caṇḍamahāsena (Som., XI, 31-73); it is unquestionably in its proper place as an integral part of the history of Vāsavadattā's marriage. The second one is inserted in the narration of Avantivardhana and Suratamañjarī adventures made to the ṛṣis by Bharatarohaka (Som., CXII, 26-60; Kṣ. suppresses both tales, but he alludes to them 2, II, 27 and 18, 109); the people of Ujjayinī are going to celebrate "the feast of the oblation of water" (Udakadānaka), instituted to appease the manes of Aṅgāraka; it is evident that all know the meaning of the feast, and that Pālaka, son of Caṇḍamahāsena, and grandson of Aṅgāraka, is the last who could be ignorant of it. In spite of that, the compiler supposes, that the people, on the eve of the feast, come to relate to Pālaka how his father killed his grandfather, Aṅgāraka. The absurdity of the contrivance shows clearly that it is an interpolation. On the other hand, the compilers were not very daring, and in their attempt to be ingenious, they have only shown themselves to be clumsy. Being afraid to pull to pieces the essential parts of the main story, feeling, no doubt, that they would be unable to build it up in some other way, they have contented themselves with detaching the abduction of Madanamañcukā to join it to the new book of Vēla. Between the great sections of the abridgment they have inserted with the least possible clumsiness, the new books which they have compiled, though with ludicrous results with everything they have placed between Pañca and Mahābhiṣeka. They have prefaced it with the legend of Guṇāḍhya, which no doubt existed in Cashmere and Nepal in some pious collection (Kṣemendra tells us at the beginning of the Bṛhatkathāmanjarī that the legend was found in the "Purānas" and in the "çruti"). Then, noticing that they had these two introductions, the second of which not tallying very well with the first, as in it Naravāhanadatta was himself relating his own story to the ṛṣis, they had recourse to an expedient, simple but rather childish, that it is to give the books the chronological order of the hero's adventures. Thus Udayana's history has been placed at the beginning, with the name of *Kathāmukha*, and though it is really an introduction, it has become the epilogue. As for the names of the other books, they seem to have kept on those they had found in the abridgment, except that those of the section which formed the book Pañca had disappeared with the sub-divisions, which justified their presence. Lastly, they have given the new books the name of a hero or a heroine, thus following the example of the older books. Besides, nothing proves that the work of compilation and of arrangement has not been retouched more than once; the elements of which the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā had been formed continued to exist outside it. What was more natural than to collect them together with the Bṛhatkathā, and to make

new corrections and interpolations? Kṣemendra, supposing that he has before his eyes a recension identical in every part with that imitated by Somadeva, has taken the liberty of retouching the Pañcatantra of the compilers. It is also quite possible, that the idea of placing the legend of Guṇāḍhya at the beginning, is due to the desire to imitate the Mahābhārata, in which Ādi-parva contains the history of Vyāsa's birth. Possible also, that the division into eighteen books is due to the desire of reproducing the same number of books as in the Mahābhārata; on this point I endorse Mr. Speyer's * opinion, except that I apply to the Cashmerian collection alone what he says of the Bṛhatkathā itself.

Our conclusion must be that the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā gives us a very false idea of Guṇāḍhya's work. We cannot saddle the poet either with the incoherence of the composition, or with the authorship of most of the subject matter. Mr. Tawney who has translated the Kathāsaritsāgara, states that the study of the Rājataraṃgiṇī in Mr. Stein's edition, has proved to him that Somadeva had an intimate knowledge of the geography of Cashmere.†

Is it likely that Guṇāḍhya, rather than a north-west countryman should conceive the idea, for instance, of making Sūryaprabha descend to the infernal regions through the crater found at the confluence of the Candrabhāgā and the Airāvatī? Does it not look as if a Cashmerian alone could praise Cashmere in the dithyrambic way, as is done in K.S.S., LXXIII, 79-85, B.K.M. 9, I, 619-623? That, I think, forces us to admit the existence in that country of a Bṛhatkathā not only local but deeply nationalized. Our analytic study has led us to that conclusion, without ever having yet had recourse to the Nepalese Bṛhatkathā. Our method did not allow us to do so. What right had we to invalidate the indications given by the Cashmerian collection, in preferring to them those of the Nepalese collection, so long as the former, studied without any prejudice, has not revealed to us the uncertainty of its parentage and the complexity of its origin?

V. Chronology of the Cashmerian Brhatkatha.

We can fix for the Cashmerian compilation only an approximate date and even so, it is difficult to mention any definite date at all in connection with a book which was written at several different periods. In a case like this, the fixing of the dates means only the extreme limits of time, between which the work was produced. The *terminus ad quem* is supplied by Kṣemendra. The Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā was even in his time already ancient, more especially with regard to the language (Upasaṃhāra, v. 29). It is easy to admit that the form

* Het zoogenaamde groote verhaal, etc., p. 142-143 but I cannot admit that the imitation extends to the relative proportions of the books and that with that in view Velā and Çaçankavatī (11-12 of Somadeva) are meant to be a counterpart of the Strī-parva and Çānti-parva (11-12 of Mahābhārata). Here the coincidence is real but accidental. In the Mahābhārata the Strī-parva comes after the Sauptikaparva which is still shorter. On the contrary in the K.S.S., Velā is preceded by Çaktiyaças, which next to Çaçankavatī is the longest of the Lambhakas. Besides the coincidence noticed by Mr. Speyer is not found again in any other books of the Mahābhārata and the Lambhaka bearing the same number either in Kṣēmēndra or in Somadeva.

† In Grierson, The Pis-Lang, p. 1.

in which he knew it, was already a century or two old, that makes us assign the ninth or tenth century as one limit. On the other hand, it is impossible, that all should be very ancient, as we have seen there are traces, which lead us to believe that it is what we may call modern. The idea of joining to an abridgment of the Bṛhatkathā stories more developed and preserved as a complete whole, could have been conceived only at a time when the original Bṛhatkathā was no longer current; and to make it possible to incorporate with it an amplified legend of Guṇāḍhya, it was necessary that the legend should be both ancient and well-known. (The first condition was fulfilled as far back as the seventh century.) Perhaps also the second. If in India, Bāṇa, Subandhu and later on the author of Daçarūpa seem to have read the Bṛhatkathā in the original, it is possible, that in Cashmere that original may have ceased much sooner to be of current use. Yet we cannot admit that the first attempt at compilation can go beyond the seventh or eighth century. Needless to add that the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā cannot be used as a basis for any theory as to the age of the collections of the stories which it contains, more especially, of the Pañcatantra, and that, far from knowing anything of the date of those collections from the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā, it is from them that we must expect light on the age of the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā itself. Who knows? Perhaps the Pañcatantra may some day furnish that light? This observation seems to me to reduce to naught Mr. Speyer's argument on the chronological relation between the Pañcatantra and the Bṛhatkathā.

With regard to the respective dates of the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī and the Kathāsaritsāgara, I have no remarks to put forward. I only refer to Bühler, "On the Vṛihatkathā of Kṣhemendra (Indian Antiquary I, (1872), p. 302-309," Detailed Report (1877), p. 45-48; Ueber das Zeitalter des Kasmirischen Dichters Somadeva; et S. Lévi, La Bṛhatkathāmanjarī de Kshemendra (J. As., VIIIes., VI (1885), 400-402; VII (1886) 217-219."

Somadeva (*pracasti*, v, 11) tells us that he composed this poem to amuse the pious Sūryavatī. She was the grandmother of King Harṣa and the mother of King Kalaça. In the *pracasti*, Kalaça is called King and Harṣa only çrī. Therefore the Kathāsaritsāgara must have been written between the accession of Kalaça and the death of Sūryavatī, that is between 1063-1064, and 1081-1082. The dates are supplied by the Rājataraṃginī, the relation between the Cashmerian era and the Christian era having been firmly established, thanks to the calculations of Bühler.

Kṣemendra is a contemporary of Ananta, Kalaça's father. His Bhāratamañjarī was written in 1037; his Daçāvatāracarita in 1066, the second year of Kalaça's reign. We do not know the date of the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī; *the Upasaṃhāra* (v. 41) only tells us that it was written at the request of his friend Devadhara, "Chief of the Brahman Community". The imperfection of the work and its relation with the other two "mañjarīs" by the same author led us (Vid. S.) to assign the same date to it, probably about the beginning of his career. It is then probably older by twenty-five or thirty years than the Kathāsaritsāgara (cf. S. Lévi, 1. c., against Bühler). On the whole, this question is only of secondary interest to the object of our study.

CHAPTER II

THE ÇLOKASAMGRAHA OF BUDHASVAMIN

A

Title—Author—Date.

The poem preserved in Nepal boldly gives itself out as being the Bṛhatkathā. The real title is not Bṛhatkathāçlokasaṃgraha in one word, but Bṛhatkathā-Çlokasaṃgraha. This is shown clearly in the colophon of *sarga* 28: *Crībhaṭṭabudhasvāminā kṛte clokasaṃgrahe Bṛhatkathāyām* "Bṛhatkathā, abridged in epic verses by Budhasvāmin". The author thus claims for himself only to have put the Bṛhatkathā in çlokas, but though he has abridged his model, he has all the same pretensions to completeness. As to his accuracy, it looks as if it were implied in the title itself: still we should believe him only after we had put that accuracy to the test. We have no information of any kind on Budhasvāmin except what we may infer from his name. The first thought that comes to the mind is to substitute the form Buddhasvāmin; the reading *dha* for *ddha* is sometimes met with in our manuscripts. The author would then be a Buddhist; in which case we would be ignorant of his true name, as Budhasvāmin can hardly be taken as a proper name: On the other hand, as the two manuscripts N & M have Budhasvāmin with one only "d", we may ask ourselves whether we have any good reason to disbelieve them. The Planet Mercury is called Budha; Budhasvāmin would be an appropriate name for a child born on a Wednesday. The second part of the name is instructive. It is among the Mīmāṃsakas, from the fifth century, that the names ending in svāmin were held in great repute—a great many commentators have borne such names.* Among such cases I may mention Devasvāmin (Vth century ?), Agnisvāmin, Bhavasvāmin, Jayasvāmin, Dhūrtasvāmin, Bharatasvāmin, Khadirasvāmin, Makhasvāmin, Skandasvāmin, Kumārilasvāmin, Pṛthūdakasvāmin. The seventh century seemed to be the chronological point round which such names are grouped. An inscription of the beginning of the eighth century (çaka 627) gives us a rich collection.† We also know a Rāmasvāmin, a Çabarasvāmin, a Bhaṭṭasvāmin, a Harisvāmin. One Çivasvāmin is the contemporary of Avantivarman, king of Cashmere at the beginning of the ninth century. Abhinanda, the author of the Kādambarīkathāsāra, who lived in the ninth century has as an ancestor going back to the fifth generation named Çaktisvāmin. After that period we come across a Kṣīrasvāmin, commentator of the Amarakoça in the eleventh century. Then the names ending in -svāmin become rare, and none is found after the thirteenth century. It is then reasonable to suppose that Budhasvāmin flourished at a time when those names were of frequent use, that is about the eighth and ninth centuries. The manuscripts bear out that opinion. Manuscript B must belong to the twelfth or thirteenth century. Manuscripts N and M

* On the names in -svāmin, cf. Weber, (Ind. Lit. Gesch. 2, p. 87); Bhāu Dāji, J. of the Bombay Branch of the R.A.S., 9, 160 (Notes on the age and Works of Hemādri); O. Franke, Gôttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen, 1892 (1), 490-491; A. Hillebrandt, Ritual-Litteratur (Gr. der 1-A Ph., III, 2), P. 26.

† Brought first to notice by Weber, *l. c.*

which we know only through recent copies, belong certainly to the same graphical type, if we judge by the many instances of wrong reading committed by modern copyists. Between the time of the author and the time of the last of our manuscripts it is necessary to admit a rather long interval. A comparison of the sources allows us to suppose at least three generations of manuscripts, between the archetype and those that have been preserved. Besides, the text presents some short gaps which must be very ancient, as they occur in all the copies, and as the copyists of N and M have made a special mention of them. They seem to be due to a material alteration of the archetype; when it was utilized for the copies from which ours are derived, though not without the use of other intermediate copies, it was already ancient. That takes us back to about three centuries before the twelfth. In the text they use absolutely nothing which is not Nepalese. It is then possible, if not probable, that the archetype was a manuscript imported from India. With regard to that, the field is open to all hypotheses. The author, without any claim to the grand art, has given us a work very honourable. He knows his trade as a writer and is a perfect master of the language. His vocabulary is rich, and contains many words of which a few are decidedly Prākrit, and hitherto were found mentioned only by lexicographers, and some even which are quite new. I do not know whether he has found them in his model, or whether he has made use of lexicons, or perhaps—but I propose this hypothesis with some hesitation,—he has himself been the source from which the authors of lexicons have drawn them. It is worthy of notice that frequently he supplies examples suitable to illustrate Hemacandra. His language reveals a taste for archaisms, and a perfect knowledge of Pāṇini. The verbal forms are varied and, as in the good poets of the classical period, he favours words already out of use. Budhasvāmin loves to use aorists. Still we must look somewhere else for a proof that his work is very ancient. The style is simple, generally unaffected, sometimes spiritless, but always refined. The author is not fond of tricks; he does not attempt to pass himself off as a genius of the first order. Now and again he may allow himself a short description with a somewhat pedantic flavour, when he wishes to give the poem a literary tone, but soon the simple narrative is taken up again: "here is an opportunity to pause and make you long for my story! but I don't care; were I to go on with the description, the tale will never be told!" (III 15-17.) In short, the language is simple, runs on easily, and is altogether suitable to the narration. Yet we must not draw the conclusion that the narration is dry and dull; on the contrary, the personages exhibit character and life, and are altogether different from the conventional type. We come across brilliant descriptions with rich colouring, realistic without being offensive, exhibiting even at times a kind of prudery which raises their tone. Budhasvāmin knows how to see and how to paint; his shrewdness, his humour and his refined soberness reveal him, at times, as a real master. Add to this, that the work is full of mirth, breathes the joy of living, at being able to go about the world with a curiosity always on the watch, eager to know human society and human passions. In that respect it is the most charming of all Hindu romances; and this is more than

enough to make the poem attractive. Yet I am afraid to praise up Budhasvāmin too much as in doing so I might deprive Guṇāḍhya of praises which are his due.

B

The Divisions of the Clokasamgraha.

The Çlokasamgraha is divided into "sargas". Most of them, up to the sixteenth inclusive, are numbered in the colophons; all except the first two bear a name. The fourteenth, eighteenth, twentieth, twenty-second, twenty-seventh present sub-divisions marked by the use of metres, different from the çloka and longer, which coincide with the end of some episodes. Only one of those sub-divisions is followed by a colophon, the first of sarga 22: *iti puruṣakārakathāyām prathamo 'dhyāyaḥ.'* It is this colophon which led Hara Prasad to believe that the Nepalese Bṛhatkathā besides the division in "sargas" had a larger one in "adhyāyas". To agree with him we should have to divide the tale on "human actions" into two books, but if the longer episodes of the history of the hero are, as is natural, divided into several "sargas," no-where does any tale overlap from one sarga to another. The author is always careful to give us in each sarga a complete story. That explains the great length of some chapters: and makes it impossible to admit that he has divided a tale which is rather short into two sections, each one of which would be more important than the sarga itself. The first reading mentioned by the colophon which rouses that difficulty is simply the first part of the tale on the *Puruṣakāra* and is—with the two following readings, which are the continuation and end of the same tale—comprised in sarga 22. I could not better compare the sub-divisions of the Çlokasamgraha, all things being considered, than with the "gucchas" of Kṣemendra; with this difference, that we find a sub-division wherever it is needed, and that all those sub-divisions are always perfectly justified. This means that in that respect there is in the Çlokasamgraha no trace of gaps, of retouches or of interpolations.

Table of Sargas.

I. KATHĀMUKHA. *

1.	(No name).	*Introduction*: First Chapter.
2.	(Do).	*Introduction*: Second Chapter.
3.	Kathāmukha.	*Introduction*: Third Chapter.

II. NARAVĀHANADATTAJANMA.

4.	Piṅgalikākhyāna.	Story of Piṅgalika.
5.	Dohadasampādana.	The wish gratified.
6.	Kumārajanma.	Birth of the Child.

III. MADANAMAÑJUKĀLĀBHA.

7.	Yauvarājyābhiṣeka.	Anointing of the Royal Child.
8.	Mṛgayāvihāra.	The Hunt.
9.	Pulinadarçana.	Revelation of the sand bank.
10.	Rathyāsamlāpa (MSS. Rathā-).	Conversation on the main road.
11.	Madanamañjukālābha.	Conquest of Madanamañjukā.

* I group together the sargas into several lambhakas, to each of which I assign a title (this distribution will be justified later on), but I do not complete the colophons, which most of the time are evidently curtailed in our MSS.

IV. Vegavatīlābha.

12.	Vegavatīlābhe, udyānavicaya (MSS.-nicaya)	Conquest of Vegavatī. Searches in the gardens.
13.	Vegavatīdarçana.	Revelation of Vegavatī.
14.	Do.	Do.
	1—28	First Reading.
	29—end.	Second Reading.
15.	Vegavatīlābha.	Conquest of Vegavatī.

V. Gandharvadattālābha.

16.	Gandharvadattālābhe, campāpraveça.	Conquest of Gandharvadattā. Entry into Campā.
17.	Gandharvadattāvivāha.	Marriage of Gandharvadattā.
18.	Sānudāsakathā.	Story of Sānudāsa.
	1—92	First Reading.
	93—132	Second do.
	133—252	Third do.
	253—306	Fourth do.
	307—422	Fifth do.
	423—518	Sixth do.
	519—614	Seventh do.
	615—end.	Eighth do.

VI. Ajināvatīlābha.

19.	Ajināvatīlābhe, nalinikākhyāna.	Conquest of Ajināvatī; Story of Nalinikā.
20.	Ajināvatīlābha.	Conquest of Ajināvati.
	1—92	First Reading.
	93—166	Second do.
	167—260	Third do.
	261—end.	Fourth do.

VII. Priyadarçanālābha.

21.	Priyadarçanālābhe, daivākhyāna.	Conquest of Priyadarçanā—Tale on "Fate."
22.	Priyadarçanālābhe, puruṣakārakathā.	Conquest of Priyadarçanā—Tale on "Human Action."
	Prath-adh-: 1—133	First Reading.
	134—239	Second do.
	240—end.	Third do.
23.	Priyadarçanālābhe, nandopanandakathā.	Conquest of Priyadarçanā—Story of Nanda and Upananda.
24.	Priyadarçanālābhe	Conquest of Priyadarçanā:
25.	Priyadarçanālābhe, gomukhavivāhākhyāna.	Conquest of Priyadarçanā: Marriage of Gomukha.
26.	Priyadarçanālābhe, priyadarçanāstānadarçana.	Conquest of Priyadarçanā: The revelation of Priyadarçanā's breast.
27.	Priyadarçanāvivāha.	Marriage with Priyadarçanā
	1—57	First Reading.
	58—end.	Second do.

VIII. BHAGĪRATHAYAÇOLĀBHA.

28. Priyadarçanālābha. (Conquest of Priyadarçanā.)

This colophon is inexact. The episode of Priyadarçanā is ended. This sarga contains really the beginning of the hero's adventures with Bhagīrathayaças.

C

The Contents of the Clokasamgraha.

A simple glance at the above table shows that the Çlokasaṃgraha was far from ending here. Manuscripts N and M, the only ones which contain the end of sarga 28, have immediately after the last colophon, the word "samāptam." This does not mean that the work was complete, but simply that the archetype ended here. I see another proof of this in the evident alteration which occurs in the last colophon. Originally that colophon must have contained the name of Bhagīrathayaças ; I do not think I can be much mistaken by restoring the text from the contents of the twenty-eighth *sarga : Bhagīrathayacolābhe Bhagīrathayacodarcana*. But it looked absurd to end a book, which copyists wanted to pass off as complete, because the continuation was missing, by a remark which showed clearly its incompleteness. Considering the part played by Priyadarçanā after her marriage with the hero, at the beginning of the adventure of Bhagīrathayaças (V. analysis), the author thought he had good reason to include the last *sarga* in the section *Priyadarcanālābha*. One must suppose that either Budhasvāmin died before having completed his work, or that the archetype was the first volume of a manuscript the rest of which was lost. This last hypothesis, if true, would be another proof of the antiquity of the Çlokasaṃgraha.

We can form an approximate idea of the dimensions of the whole collection. Naravāhanadatta must relate the conquest of his twenty-six wives (IV, 3.) ; and yet, at the end of the twenty-eighth book, that is of 4,539 verses, he has only come to the sixth one. The history of the first five has taken up 3,622 verses ; the proportions being the same—and one does not see that he abridges more as he goes on with the narration ; far from it—the history of the twenty-sixth spouse would take us into about 19,000 verses ; to it one must add the whole history of the conquest of the empire. I do not think it would be an exaggeration to estimate the whole length of the poem at 25,000 verses at least, divided into more than 100 sargas. An outline is necessary to allow of a detailed comparison with the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā. I insist more on the parts common to both Bṛhatkathās, in placing side by side the corresponding passages.

I. KATHĀMUKHA (S. I-III).

NEPALESE B.K.	CASHMERIAN B. K.
1. 1-4 Encomium of Ujjayanī.	(Cf. K.S.S., 6, I (XXVII), 135-137.)
5-10 : Death of Mahāsena or Pradyota (his wife Aṅgāravatī is still alive.)	K. S. S., 16, I (CXI), 55-56 ; B.K.M., 18, 30. The death of Caṇḍamahāsena and of Aṅgāravatī is mentioned in the narration of the incidents preceding Udayana's death.

Nepalese B.K.	Cashmerian B.K.
11-48: Gopāla succeeds his father. Public rumour informs him that he is suspected of having assassinated him. That father towards the end of his life has caused himself to be greatly hated on account of his abominable cruelty. The ministers reveal to Gopāla that, in order to gain for him the favour of the people, they have spread the rumour that the son had made himself a gaoler of his father and had allowed him to die of grief in prison. Gopāla is overwhelmed with sorrowful surprise.	Nil.
49–91: Gopāla abdicates in favour of his brother Pālaka, in spite of the entreaties of the Brahmans and of Pālaka himself, and retires into solitude (there will be no further questions of him).	K. S. S., 16, I (CXI), 57–94; B.K.M., 18, 30–84: Gopālaka refusing to succeed his father, Pālaka takes his place. After Udayana's death Gopāla inherits also the throne of the Vatsas, but gives it up also in favour of Pālaka and withdraws himself to the Black Mountain.
2. 1–93: Pālaka possesses none of the qualities of a king; successively he wastes himself away with grief, gives himself up to debauchery and at last goes in for exaggerated devotion. A dream foretells him that he will lose his throne. Young Avantivardhana, son of Gopāla, fulfils the prediction in letting him fall accidentally. He takes this accident as a warning from Heaven, abdicates in favour of Avantivardhana and retires to the Black Mountain, to the hermitage of Kāçyapa Āryus.	Nil. Pālaka remains king and Avantivardhana is his son: The uncle of Naravāhanadatta who will be mentioned at the hermitage is always Gopālaka.
3. 1–22: Avantivardhana falls in love with an unknown maiden. He sees her a second time when she was breaking in a furious elephant.	K.S.S., 16, II (CXII), 62-77; B.K.M., 18, 110-126: Avantivardhana falls in love with a young maid whom he has seen breaking in a furious elephant.
23–42: It is Surasamañjarī, daughter of the Mātaṅga Utpalahasta.	K.S.S., 16, II (CXII), 78-185; B.K.M., 18, 127-186: the names differ. (Suratamañjarī; Utpalahastaka K.S.S., Utpaladatta, B.K.M.)
Aṅgāravatī is of opinion that she is a divine female fallen into that condition as the result of a curse.	The same opinion is attributed to Pālaka (3 tales to prove it).
She goes and asks Surasamañjarī from her father who gives her away without any condition.	Messengers go and ask Suratamañjarī from her father who makes a condition that 18,000 Brahmans should eat with him.

NEPALESE B.K.	CASHMERIAN B.K.
43–67 : Account given by Surasamañjarī to her husband, her father had promised her to the Vidyādhara Ipphaka; then Utpalahasta has become a chaṇḍala owing to Nārada's curse.	K.S.S., 16, II (CXII), 186-201 ; B.K.M., 18, 187-192 : Utpalahastaka (-datta) became again a Vidyādhara, narrates that he had been cursed by Çiva (the divergence is absolute).
68–77 : Surasamañjarī and Avantivardhana are abducted by Ipphaka at the Feast of the Oblation of Water.	K.S.S., 16, II (CXII), 202-204 ; B. K. M., 18, 193 : Suratamañjarī disappears.
78–80 : Aṅgāravatī sends to the hermitage to inform Pālaka.	Nil. (Pālaka is at Ujjayinī.)
81–96 : At the hermitage arrives a Vidyādhara bringing Ipphaka and his two victims. He has seen the abduction, has arrested the culprit and has taken him before the Cakravartin Naravāhanadatta. The latter who for a long time past has promised to pay a visit to his uncle is coming himself to the hermitage to investigate the case.	(The circumstances differ. The Cakravartin has already arrived at the hermitage. K.S.S., 16, I (CXI), 95-106; B.K.M. 18, 85-93.) Hariçikha has been the witness of an abduction. He takes the abductor and his victim Suratamañjarī to the Cakravartin who then sends for Pālaka and Avantivardhana.
	(K.S.S., 16, II (CXII). 1-15; B.K.M., 18, 94-105). It is Bharataroha who now relates the story of the marriage of Avantivardhana and Suratamañjarī which is overdrawn at the expense of that of Caṇḍamahāsena and of Angāravatī, K.S.S., 16-61, B.K.M., nil.
97–112 : Arrival of Naravāhanadatta. Description of his chariot.	Already mentioned. Nil.
113–125 : Trial. Surasamañjarī is handed back to her husband.	K.S.S., 16, II (CXII), 208-214 ; B.K.M., 18-196 : the same but the details differ a great deal.
126 : People come in crowds to Ujjayinī to see the Cakravartin.	Nil.

II. NARAVĀHANADATTAJANMA (S. IV-VI).

4. *Piṅgalikākhyāna*. 1–12 : The ṛṣis ask Naravāhanadatta for an account of his adventures. At the request of Gaurī who promises him that those only will hear who are allowed to hear, he consents to relate the story of his twenty-six marriages and of the conquest of his empire. He will speak of himself in the first person.	(Cf. K.S.S., 6, I (XXVII), 2-4 ; B.K.M., Upasaṃhāra, 1-3, 20-21 :) It is stated that from this point it is Naravāhanadatta who relates his own adventures speaking at the request of the ṛṣis of himself in the third person.
13–20 : A few words on Udayana and his two wives. He has no children. (*Great lack of details; the personages are supposed to be known.*)	(The story of Udayana forms the ground work of the books 2-4 in the K.S.S. and in the B.K.M.)

NEPALESE B.K.	CASHMERIAN B.K.
21–66 : Four small adventures make Udayana wish that he had a son.	Nil, (but in K.S.S., 4, I (XXI), 37, Udayana is extremely anxious for a son which has been foretold to him.)
67-132 : A woman who has been picked up by Vāsavadattā, Piṅgalikā, who has been blessed with children by the favour of Viṣṇu in spite of Fate, relates her story.	K.S.S., 4, I (XXI) 38-137 ; B.K.M., 4, 12-40 : Piṅgalikā (Piṅgalā) is welcomed with her children by Vāsavadattā and comforts her in her desire to have a son. (No relation between the two stories.)
5. *Dohadasampadana*. 1-83. The example of Piṅgalikā induces Udayana to implore the gods to grant him a son. He orders general penances in honour of Kuvera. Padmāvatī, whose health is too delicate, will be exempted. She will consider as her own son the one who will surely be born of Vāsavadattā.	K.S.S., 3, V (XIX), 3-12 ; B.K.M., 3, 295-297 : Observances in honour of Çiva. Dream of Udayana. Popular rejoicings. (Very much abridged ; there is, besides, no resemblance between the two stories.)
The King and the Queen have at the same time an identical dream. They dreamt that they were in Kuvera's land. The god presents them with a jewel which, suddenly transformed into a lion's cub, penetrates into the side of Vāsavadattā. The Brahman Ādityaçarman explains the dream. Udayana shall have a son destined to rule over the empire of Vidyādharas. The four ministers have also dreams which Ādityaçarman explains.	Other observances and another dream (of Vāsavadattā) K.S.S., 4, I (XXI) 137-148 ; B.K.M., 4, 41-42 (immediately after the story of Piṅgalā).
84-87 : During her pregnancy Vāsavadattā had a great longing which she is afraid to make known. To induce her to do so, her mother-in-law Mṛgāvatī relates her own story to her.	Nil.
88-175 : When she was bearing Udayana, she had the longing to see herself all dressed in red and the whole city also dressed in red. A large bird carried her off and left her in a deserted place from which two hermits took her to Vasiṣṭha's hermitage. It was there Udayana was born. Brought up by Vasiṣṭha he disobeyed his master who had forbidden him to go into the woods. One day when he was playing in a tank he saw some young Nāgas who carried him off to their subterranean city, Bhogavatī. On his return to the earth he narrated his adventure to Vasiṣṭha who	K.S.S., 2, I (IX) 46-90 ; B.K.M., 2, I, 40-66 : Story of Mṛgāvatī (very much shorter and somewhat different). Another account, but shorter, of the same

Nepalese B.K.	Cashmerian B.K.
sent him back to the Nāgas. They had made him a present of the lyre *ghoṣavatī* with which he bewitches men and animals. When his education was completed Vasiṣṭha caused him to be taken with his mother to Kauçāmbi to the royal gardens. Whilst he was playing the padmabhañjika there, the guards saw him and went to inform the king who then recovered both his wife and his son.	story K.S.S., 6, IV. (XXX) 38-57 (missing in the B.K.M.)
176-189 : Vāsavadattā announces that her longing is too difficult to be satisfied. Mṛgāvatī relates the story of Manoramā, wife of Ugrasena, who was longing to drink the blood of Viṣṇu—longing which her husband was able to gratify.	Nil.
190-193 : Vāsavadattā is longing to travel in an aerial chariot. Facetiously Vasantaka suggests a see-saw.	K.S.S., 4, II (XXII) 9-13 ; B.K.M. 4, 45-46. The same longing which Yaugandharāyaṇa satisfies by means of several stratagems and machines (details given in a casual sort of way.)
194-270 : Yaugandharāyaṇa is of opinion that this is artisans' business. He sends for some, but they excuse themselves on the plea that the Greeks only are conversant with those chariots. It seems to me, says a Brahman, that this is a false excuse. They are afraid to disclose their secret and, to justify his opinion, he relates a story. Viçvabhadra, son-in-law of a carpenter in the service of Mahāsena, had gone to Benares to work for king Brahmadatta. Every night he used to return secretly to his wife at Ujjayinī by the help of a wonderful machine which was his own secret. Mahāsena heard of it through his spies, threatened the father-in-law with death if he did not reveal the secret of his son-in-law. The poor fellow knew nothing about it himself. He begged earnestly of Viçvabhadra to reveal his secret. Viçvabhadra pretended to be willing but during the night the ingenious artisan disappeared in his flying machine leaving his family exposed to the wrath of the angry monarch. He would have even left his wife behind, rather than reveal his secret, had she not consented to flee with him.	Does Kṣemendra make a pun on the words Yavana, Javana 4, 46 ; or does he interpret by javana the name of the Greeks which he finds in his original, or must we correct Javanair into Yavanair ?

NEPALESE B.K.	ÇASHMERIAN B.K.
271-279 : The artisans must then be put to the torture. This is what is done. Fortunately a stranger happens to come in who saves them in their trouble by building up himself the required machine.	Nil.
280-296 : Udayana gets in with his wives and all his retinue, makes an aerial pradakṣiṇa round the earth and before returning to Kauçāmbī, goes on a visit to his father-in-law Mahāsena.	Nil (but *cf.* supra. The conquering campaign of Udayana which he ends in the same way by a visit to his father-in-law. (K.S.S., 3, V (XIX) 50-118 ; B.K.M., 3, 300-313.)
297-326 : Udayana is desirous to reward the artisan who in reality was a guhyakā, by name Bhadrā, who, before going back to Heaven, relates her own story. Owing to a curse from Kuvera she has become a she-elephant, under the name of Bhadravatī. The Yakṣa Pūrṇabhadra guilty of having interceded for her, has become an elephant called Nalāgiri. Both belonged to the stables of Mahāsena. It is on her that Udayana has fled with Vāsavadattā. When in the forests of the Vindhya she fell dead, Udayana wept over the loss of her with such genuine sympathy, that she vowed to give him a proof of her gratitude. She it was who sent the dream which foretold that he would be father of a son. She also it was who built up the wonderful chariot. She foretells that the boy who will soon be born will be a cakravartin. Whilst speaking she made a breach in the wall of Kauçāmbi—this is still called "Bhadravatī's Gate."	Nil. K.S.S., 2, V (XIII), 35-37 ; B.K.M., 2, II, 160-161 (The she-elephant is a Vidyādharī called Mayāvatī) (Very much shorter and quite different ; she reveals her identity immediately after her death.)
6. *Kumārajanma*. 1-16. Birth of Naravāhanadattā and of the minister's sons, Hariçikha, Marubhūtika, Tapantaka, Gomukha. They receive their education in common.	K.S.S., 4, III (XXIII), 53-94 ; B.K.M., 4, 132-142 and K.S.S., 6, I (XXVII) 5-8 (B.K.M., nil).
17-33. The boys quarrel among themselves ; to restore order, a table of precedence will be set up.	Nil.

III. MADANAMAÑJUKĀLĀBHA (S. VII-XI).

7. *Yauvarājyābhiṣeka*. 1-22. Grand royal audience. Udayana announces the approaching anointing of his son as heir to the throne. Among those present there is a certain Kaliṅgasenā who has come with a young girl. Who is that lovely	K.S.S., 6, VIII (XXXIV), 97-103 ; B.K.M., 7, 557-558 ; Naravāhanadatta falls in love with Madanamañcukā when she was still in her nurse's arms.

NEPALESE B.K.	CASHMERIAN B.K.
child? asks the King.—Madanamañjukā.—The king takes her on his lap. The soothsayer Ādityaçarman uttered an exclamation which he does not explain. Naravāhanadatta falls forthwith in love with the child. Udayana sends away the mother and the daughter with presents.	(Again K.S.S. ibidem, 162-173; B.K.M. 571-573.) (Kaliṅgasenā has played such an important part in the life of Udayana that all the particulars of the present story are necessarily altogether different.)
23-31: Ceremony of Anointing. The companions of Naravāhanadatta are assigned special duties towards his person. Procession through the streets of Kauçāmbi.	K.S.S., 6, VIII (XXXIV), 106-130; B.K.M., 7, 559-562.
31-32: Gomukha goes out of his mind. He disappears from time to time. He acts at times like a mad man. He puts down his strange ways to the study of the Upaniṣads.	Nil.
52-82: The king causes a proposal to be made to the young fellows to take a walk to the yātrā of the forest of Nāgavana. Naravāhanadatta holds a mock council. Gomukha advises him to accept.	Nil.

8. *Mṛgayāvihāra* (K.S.S., B.K.M., Nil.).

(From this point to sarga 12, it is no longer possible to set up a table of concordance. Sargas 8—11 will continue to recount the adventures leading to the marriage of the hero with Madanamañjukā. They then correspond to the end of the sixth book of the Kathāsaritsāgara, of the seventh of the Mañjarī; but they are altogether different from them by the length and by the nature of the subject matter. (The walk to the "Nāgavana" is mentioned by Somadeva (6, VIII (XXXIV), 174), but not by Kṣemendra.)

1-20. A start is made for the yātrā. The young fellows pass on the way a carriage full of young girls; one of them greets them. Naravāhanadatta, who knows nothing of society's manners, would not have returned the salute, had not Gomukha invented an artifice to make him do it. They all laugh at the young man's lack of manners.

21-31: Arrival at the wood, amusements, theatricals. A hunting expedition is organized for the following day.

32-55: Escorted by a battalion of Pulindas the young men hunt gazelles of an unknown species. They cannot shoot any, but the arrows describe a *pradakṣiṇa* and return to the prince's quiver. Siṃhaçatru, chief of the Pulindas, informed them that according to an ancient tradition these miraculous animals make their appearance when a cakravartin has been born in the world.

9. *Pulinadarcana* (K.S.S., B.K.M., Nil.).

1-7: Gomukha who seems endowed with all kinds of talents, amuses his

friends by making out of lotus leaves cuttings figuring men, animals, etc., and throwing them into the river.

8-76: Marubhūtika is surprised to discover on a sandbank footprints which start neither from the shore nor from the river. How is this to be explained? Gomukha with the methods and the accurateness of a detective interprets those prints. They are those of a Vidyādhara carrying a woman, they have taken shelter in a grove which he points out, but they are there no longer. They go to find out. He has been right. They find in the grove the armour and the jewels of a Vidyādhara. A more thorough search causes them to discover the Vidyādhara himself tied to a tree and giving no longer any sign of life. Naravāhanadatta remembers that every armour must contain some magic plants. As a matter of fact, some are found in the armour of the Vidyādhara, by means of which they bring him to life again and set him free. He expresses his thanks to his deliverers.

77-108: His name is Amṛtagati, son of the Munikauçika and of the apsaras Bindumatī. The sciences taught him by his father have allowed (him) to become a Vidyādhara, but he was not born to raise himself as high as the empire. His father grieved at it, and bade him become the servant of the future cakravartin. But how is he to recognize him? It is he, says Kauçika, who some day will break off thy chains. Amṛtagati had two friends, Aṅgāraka and Vyālaka, and a mistress Kusumālikā; he has perceived that Aṅgāraka had designs on Kusumālikā and was contemplating treachery. He then ran away with her, came down to the sandbank and took refuge in the grove. Aṅgāraka having followed him tied him to the tree and carried away his mistress. He promises Naravāhanadatta to remain always in his service. Let Naravāhanadatta be so kind as to remember him when his services will be required. (In the K.S.S. and B.K.M. Amṛtagati is a faithful ally of Naravāhanadatta in the conquest of the empire, but no reasons are given for his loyalty.)

10. *Rathyāsaṃlāpa* (K.S.S., B.K.M., Nil.).

1-29: Naravāhanadatta returns to the yātrā. On the way the conversation falls on the hierarchy to be established among the motive powers of human actions. The first according to Gomukha is *desire*; in his last adventure the *desire* to gratify his curiosity has been the only cause of Naravāhanadatta's actions. All the rest has only occurred to him "par surcroit." But there is an eminent desire which Gomukha is the only one to know; his friends are only wooden puppets, because they are ignorant of it. According to Kamaçāstras men are divided into four categories, one who loves and is loved, one who is loved without loving, one who loves without being loved, one who is neither loving nor loved. Gomukha belongs to the first category, the prince to the second, his friends who are all stupid fellows to the fourth. They urge Gomukha to reveal the name of the Prince's sweet-heart: the somewhat shy Naravāhanadatta permits his friend to speak out.

Gomukha's Narrative.

30-59: On the day of the royal anointing, Padmāvatī delighted with a reply from Gomukha, acknowledged that he was very witty. He did not know what

it meant to be witty and he refrained from asking. On his leaving the palace, the coachman of a very fine looking carriage invited him to get in with him to try the king's horses. He hesitated for a moment, but two writers who had been entrusted with the task of getting up a list of all the men of sense and all the stupid fellows in the town, already propose to place at the head of the list of the stupid fellows that young man who is refusing a lovely drive. He jumped into the carriage to prove that he was a man of sense. A piece of advice which he gives the coachman on the way gains him a compliment from that man who proposes to lead him through "the Palace of Wit."

160-163 : The carriage passes through the bazaar and then through a very fine quarter ; unfortunately the behaviour and the talk of the women and the young men they come across there soon arouse his suspicions. It is the quarter of the "gaṇikās". Full of shame Gomukha wants to go back, but the coachman insists on going on, till they come in front of a splendid mansion. Women heap on Gomukha all sorts of blandishments. Lengthy description of the halls. They make Gomukha talk about himself, his friends, their works and their pleasures. He answers the questions with complete artlessness, giving all the details of how they spend the day in study. The women are at a loss what to do. At last a certain Padmadevikā is appointed to look properly after their guest Gomukha. He leaves the place knowing at last what it is to have sense. In this narration the author goes to the extreme limits of decency but never overreaches it. When it becomes too difficult he leaves off saying " Let us pass on ; the shortest stories are the best." The mistress of the house, with an ill-concealed gratification, invites Gomukha to come again and Padmadevikā whispers in his ears that she has a secret for him.

164-181 : It is from that day that Gomukha absented himself on the pretext of studying the Upaniṣads. The mistress of the house had made him promise not to reveal anything. One day he finds Padmadevikā in tears ; she even falls into a swoon, but her companions have no pity for her ; it is the mistress, they say, who ought to be pitied. Gomukha goes to the garden to make enquiries from that lady. She receives him with ill-humour, but at last consents that young Mudrikālatikā should explain matters to him.

Mudrikālatikā's Narrative.

182-240. The prostitutes have divided into eight classes since the time of King Bharata who instituted them, for they spring from the daughters of the Ocean carried away by that king. Kaliṅgasenā, the mistress of the house, belongs to the highest class. She has a daughter Madanamañjukā. One day in a great royal audience, the girl saw Naravāhanadatta. She would have liked to go again often to the palace, but her mother makes her understand that this is not allowed. From that time she became quite lifeless and one day she hanged herself. Kaliṅgasena who was watching her, saved her life and made her tell her secret. She is in love with the Prince. Kaliṅgasenā, not knowing how to prevent her daughter from falling into a decline, has asked for Padmāvatī's help. Padmāvatī has promised it and it is she who has set up all the contrivances, through which Gomukha

has been enticed to the house. She hoped that he would also bring his master. She had even undertaken to prevail upon him to do so, but the fear, that he might disapprove of her wiles and that he might not return himself prevents her from keeping her promise.

Gomukha's Narrative—(Contd.)

241-265: Gomukha has promised to help to seduce the Prince, he has undertaken to make him salute Madanamañjukā; in this he has succeeded, for it is her whom Naravāhanadatta has saluted without knowing it, on the road to Nāgavana.

266-274: Picking up courage the Prince confesses that he has himself taken a fancy to Madanamañjukā from the day he saw her in the palace; as on the following day she is going to take part in a dance he will be present.

11. *Madanamañjukālābha* (K.S.S., B.K.M., Nil except the dancing lessons of Madanamañjukā, K.S.S., 6, VIII, (XXXIV), 162; B.K.M., 7, 571.

1-29. The first dancing girl Suyāmunadattā wins the prize from Madanamañjukā, but Gomukha succeeds in distracting the attention of Naravāhanadatta, so that he does not notice the girl's failure. On his returning home the Prince wants to send Gomukha to her house; Gomukha does not relish that mission, insists on Marubhūtika at least accompanying him.

30-64: The two messengers are far from being welcome." It is Gomukha who has made Suyāmunadattā dance first and has then drawn away the Prince's attention from Madanamañjukā." He justifies himself and informs them that Naravāhanadatta is waiting for the young girl's visit. Kaliṅgasenā informs the minister Rumaṇvat who refers the matter to the king. The king accedes to his son's wishes. Madanamañjukā will be brought to him.

65-106: Naravāhanadatta does not know how to play his part. He begs earnestly for Gomukha's advice, who chaffs him in a friendly way. Madanamañjukā arrives; fine description of the scene. The next day Gomukha comes for her to take her back to her mother. A few days later the yātrā being over, it is time to return to Kauçāmbi. A start is made; the journey takes two days. At the first halt Gomukha, as he has done on previous evenings, brings Madanamañjukā. She is in tears; one of her waiting maids explains the reasons of her sorrow: As she belongs to the caste of prostitutes, she cannot hope to become the lawful spouse of her lover. The court chaplain has already arranged for the Prince's betrothal with a daughter of the King of Benares. Madanamañjukā is determined to poison herself. The Prince weeps with her and makes up his mind to poison himself too. Marubhūtika and Hariçikha resolve to die with their master. Meanwhile what has become of Gomukha? A search is made for him; he sends word that he is busy learning the art of living long. They all feel indignant, as it is he who is the cause of the whole entanglement. At last Tapantaka is entrusted with the task of warning Udayana as skilfully as he can. But he is afraid to do it!

IV. VEGAVATĪLĀBHA (S. XII-XV).

12. *Udyānavicaya.* 1-22: They are at Kauçāmbi. The situation is the same. One fine morning Madanamañjukā disappears. Kalingasenā informs them that formerly she had promised her to a Vidyādhara Mānasavega. Beyond doubt he is the abductor.	K.S.S., 14, I (CV), 3-19; B.K.M., 8, 68-75; 13, 2-7.
23-38: Naravāhanadatta is so upset that the king is much troubled in mind. He asks for Rumaṇvat's advice. Rumaṇvat laughs at the whole thing. Nothing more, he says, than a jealous woman's sulks. She is hiding herself and will be found in the gardens.	K.S.S., 20-21 (It is Udayana, who takes the initiative in the enquiry B.K.M. 13, 8.).
39-57: In this connection he relates the story of Aṅgiras and Amṛtā.	K.S.S., 22-32 (Açrutā); B.K.M., 9-12 (Reduced to an allusion).
58-82: They search for a long time; at last Marubhūtika discovers Madanamañjukā under an açoka. She gives an explanation of the incident. When she was young she made a vow to a yakṣa (to offer him drink from her own hands) on condition that he would have all her desires fulfilled. The yakṣa came to claim his due and carried her to Kuvera's court. The god has decided that first of all she must be married to Naravāhanadatta. She asks the Prince to wed her in a regular way.	K.S.S., ibidem 33-53; B.K.M., ibid., 13-28 (The same but she asks for a second marriage.) (No visit to Kuvera but previously Çiva has commanded Udayana to consent to the regular marriage of his son) V. supra.
83-84: The king passes a decree that she will no longer belong to the class of "Gaṇikās", but will take her rank as a girl of good family (kulastrī). This decision ought to have overwhelmed her with joy, but to the great surprise of Naravāhanadatta she does not seem to be glad at all.	Nil.
13. *Vegavatīdarcana*, 1-16: Having become a kulastrī Madanamañjukā publicly weds Naravāhanadatta, and comes to live with him. She gives him wine to drink and makes him drunk.	K.S.S., 14, I (CV), 54-57; B.K.M., 13, 29-30. Marriage with Vegavatī. K.S.S., ibid., 58, B.K.M. gives this detail simply as a pun on "Madhu.
17–37: The next day the Prince's friends come to have a drink with him. For several days every one is drunk. It is the cunning Gomukha who has got the drink for them. He alone knows the reason why.	Nil.

38–52 : Madanamañjukā has forbidden her husband to look at her when she is asleep. One night he wakes up very thirsty. Disinclined to call a servant he wants to send his wife to bring him some water, but he does not recognize her; he wakes her up—Who art thou?—She begs his forgiveness—All right, he replies, but she must explain.	K.S.S., ibid., 59-63; B.K.M. ibid., 31-39 : idem except that thirst has nothing to do with the adventure.
14. *Vegavatīdarcana, II.* Vegavatī's Narrative. 1–84 : Her parents are the Vidyādharas, Vegavat and Pṛthivī. Their two children are Mānasavega and Vegavatī. Vegavat becoming old leaves his kingdom to his son and withdraws into the woods after having recommended his young sister to Mānasavega, but this brother refuses to teach Vegavatī the magical sciences. Her companions laugh at her because she does not even know how to fly. She goes to complain to her father who at first does not seem inclined to comply with her request. At last she gets round him by her skill in making a peacock dance. Vegavat grants her the knowledge of all the sciences, and promises one-tenth part of his kingdom to the husband she may choose.	K.S.S., 14, I (IV) 64-68; B.K.M., 13, 40-49. Same story but very much condensed. B. K. M. mentions only the peacock's dance (44).
86–126 : Mānasavega has abducted Madanamañjukā, but there is a curse on him which prevents him from offering her violence; he has put Vegavatī in charge of the prisoner with instructions to tame her down. Madanamañjukā is always in tears. Vegavatī takes pity on her and also through curiosity offers to go and warn Naravāhanadatta. But love makes her break her word. Now she proposes to take the prince to Madanamañjukā.	K.S.S., ibid., 69-77. B.K.M., ibid., 50-59, same narration but condensed.
15. *Vegavatīlābha.* 1-67 : In the morning Vegavatī reveals herself to all under her real figure. Udayana is satisfied and a new ceremony of marriage is gone through. Four girl friends of Vegavatī who had been previously driven away by Mānasavega come down from heaven. They are made to wed the four friends of the prince.	Nil.

68-103 : Shortly after, Naravāhanadatta wakes up in the arms of Mānasavega who carries him away through the air. The abductor gives him the choice, either to see Madanamañjukā again and to die immediately after, or to be thrown into the abode of the monsters of the sea. But before the prince has time to make his choice, Vegavatī arrives and starts a fight with her brother ; the struggle is so fierce that Mānasavega is forced to give up his prey. Naravāhanadatta falls upon the earth in an unknown country, but fortunately for him it is at the bottom of a well.	It is Vegavatī who carries away Naravāhanadatta K.S.S. 14, I (CV) 78; B.K.M., 13, 60-65.) K.S.S., ibid., 86-89. B.K.M.? There seems to be a gap here (it is Vegavatī who hides Naravāhanadatta in the well) K.S.S., ibid., 89. B.K.M. ibid., 68.
104-148 : Having come to himself he thinks of the means to get out of this. In this connection he remembers the story of Trita thrown into a well by his brothers Ekata and Dvita.*	Nil.
149-158 : But a kṣatriya cannot offer a sacrifice alone like Trita. He thinks then of imploring Amṛtagati, who appears above and draws him out of the well.—What else dost thou desire now ?—That thou shouldst save Vegavatī, replies the prince, who is already forgetting his own self. The Vidyādhara flies away to comply.	Nil. (The gandharva Vīṇādatta sees him and draws him out of the well. K.S.S., 14, II (CVI), 1 ; B.K.M., 13, 69.)

V. GANDHARVADATTĀLĀBHA (S. XVI-XVIII).

K.S.S., 14, II (CVI), 1-32 ; B.K.M., 13, 69-79.

16. *Campāpraveça*. 1-29 : Naravāhanadatta has allowed Amṛtagati to go away without thinking of asking him what place this was. The forest round him is very thick ; he makes his way at random. At dawn he finds himself out of the forest, with lovely gardens in front of him. "Where am I ?" he asks a gardener. "A fine question ; you must be laughing at me," answers the gardener. Then he notices a country house, goes in and meets a man who is absorbed in examining a lute. Same question and same answer.	Nil.

* The story is very much similar to one we find in the Jaiminīya—Brāhmaṇa, but in the latter the cows have been given to Trita by Kuvera.

30-50 : Naravāhanadatta, afraid of danger if he reveals his identity, invents a falsehood :—Young Brahmin of the country of the Vatsas, he has allowed himself to be carried away by a yakṣi who has fallen in love with him; but after a quarrel due to jealousy, the yakṣi has carried him off through the air and left him in an unknown land.—You are at Campā, the other informs him. I am a merchant and my name is Dattaka, but on account of my great love for music they call me Vīṇādattaka.—He calls for his palanquin, gets in with the young man and offers him hospitality in his own house. All along the roads they see even the common people carrying lutes.	Very much abridged and different; but we may note the following details given by the K.S.S. Naravāhanadatta does not hide his identity but tells an untruth about the circumstances which have brought him to the city of the Gandharvas. Vīṇādatta takes him to his house. Everyone in the city carries a lute.
51-79 : The house of Vīṇādatta is full of luxury ; they treat the unexpected guest splendidly, and he finds it extremely hard in the middle of all this wealth to play to the life the part of a young Brahmin who has given himself up to an ascetic life.	Mention of the luxurious appointments in Vīṇādatta's house. K.S.S.
80-93 : At the end of the meal he asks Dattaka, why this general craze about lutes ?—A chief of the guild of merchants, Sānudāsa has a daughter, Gandharvadattā ; she knows a song never heard of; she says she will wed only the man who will be able to sing it to the accompaniment of a lute. In hopes of winning the damsel, every one is practising on the lute, but so far nobody has yet pleased her.	The details are similar but Gandharvadattā is the daughter of the king of the Gandharvas, Sāgaradatta.
Every six months there is a competition and it so happens that one falls on the next day. Vīṇādattaka praises up the young maid to the skies.	(Similar praise K.S.S.)
17. *Gandharvadattāvivāha*. 1–43 : Naravāhanadatta pretends not to know music but to be very anxious to learn it. A music master, Bhūtika, is sent for. He is a ludicrous personage whom the young man turns into ridicule. At last Naravāhanadatta plays on the lute. The audience are lost in admiration. During the night he plays again, wakes up the sleeping city, crowds gather together. It is Sarasvatī herself, they say, who has come down to Dattaka, but it is an unfair favour,	Nil.

44-98 : The next morning they go to Sānudāsa's residence. Naravāhanadatta excites general curiosity. The women crowd around the musician. Come and see, they say, a Yakṣī's lover ! In the music hall the young man excites the jealousy of the other competitors by his good looks, but helps them by his wit. Some praise him up, others run him down, but everyone is talking of no one else, though nobody suspects his talents. The scene is lengthy and full of life.	Nil.
99-165 : Gandharvadattā makes her entry. The competition starts. Naravāhanadatta recognizes in Gandharvadattā's song the *nārāyaṇastuti* sung by the gandharva Viçvāvasu, while he was making three times the *pradakṣiṇa* round Viṣṇu taking the three steps. He knows that song which was revealed to him by Udayana. He is then perfectly sure of winning. He declines two imperfect lutes (in the second one there is a hair). He accepts the third one from Sānudāsa's hands. He sings the hymn ; the enthusiasm is indescribable. The prize is awarded to him with the thanks of all, as by his success he has put an end to the folly which held all the people of Campā.	(The same story but exceedingly condensed.)
166-181 : At first Naravāhanadatta refuses to wed Gandharvadattā : he is a Brahmin of a family as pure as the Meru ; he cannot marry the daughter of a merchant. If that is the only objection, says Sānudāsa, it is nothing, as she belongs to the same caste as you and perhaps even to a higher one than yours. Naravāhanadatta makes up his mind. Marriage with Gandharvadattā.	Nil.

18. *Sānudāsakathā* (K.S.S., B.K.M., Nil.).

1st Reading.

1-3 : After the marriage Naravāhanadatta asks his father-in-law to explain his words.

4-92 : Sānudāsa, son of the merchant Mitravarman and of Mitravatī, was in his youth of very strict morals, but his friends, at the instigation of one of them, Dhruvaka, made him drink wine by surprise and debauched him so completely that suddenly he gave himself up to an immoral life, left his house and went to live with a certain Gaṅgadattā for whose sake he ruined himself completely.

2nd Reading.

93-132 : One day news is brought to him that his father is dead and that the king has appointed him to his place as the chief of the guild of merchants. He goes back home and applies himself to the duties of his new position, but Dhruvaka comes to plead the cause of Gaṅgadattā. She is in tears and a visit from him would give her great pleasure. One must have pity on her. Sānudāsa gives in ; he is made to drink, his old habits take hold of him again and he does not come back home. At last when Gaṅgadattā's mother finds out that he is completely ruined she invents a pretext to make him leave the house and to get rid of him.

3rd Reading.

133-177 : Sānudāsa returns to his place ; all his neighbours turn away from him in disgust. A stranger forbids him the entrance of his own house. During his absence that house has been sold. Mitravatī, penniless, has been obliged to leave it. She has taken refuge with her daughter-in-law in the quarter inhabited by the poorest of the poor. Sānudāsa sets out in search of her. In a miserable little urchin who is playing on the road he recognizes his own son Dattaka. Mitravatī lives in a dilapidated hut with her daughter-in-law who is overwhelmed with illness and sorrow. The sight moves Sānudāsa's heart. He makes up his mind not to saddle himself on his own people longer than one night. He promises to earn his own livelihood by his labour and sets off for Tāmraliptī, where he hopes to meet his uncle Gāṅgadatta, who is a trader there.

178-220 : By mere chance, in a certain village he asks for hospitality from Siddhārthaka, a former servant of Mitravarman ; that man, who is a very successful trader, asks Sānudāsa to avail himself of his carāvan which is going to Tāmraliptī. In the forest the caravan is looted by Pulindas ; Sānudāsa escapes them by flight, but loses his way in the woods ; at length, after several adventures, he reaches Tāmraliptī.

221-252 : Gāṅgadatta is the wealthiest merchant of the town. In grateful remembrance of the kindness received in former days from Mitravarman, he welcomes his nephew, and places at his disposal as much money as he may wish. "Take it" he says, "and go back to Campā to live with thine own people." Sānudāsa declines to accept alms. He hires his services as a diamond expert to a merchant who is just going to sail.

4th Reading.

253-274 : Shipwreck. Sānudāsa saves himself by swimming and lands on a deserted coast. At the entrance of a cavern he finds a woman lying. She too has been shipwrecked. She is quite naked and famished.

275-306 : She relates her own story. Her name is Samudradinnā, daughter of a merchant from Rājagṛha, Sāgara, and of his wife Yāvanī. Sāgara had commercial dealings with a merchant of Campā, Mitravarman, who had asked Samudradinnā for his son. Meanwhile Mitravarman had died. Sānudāsa, having ruined himself in debauch, had joined a caravan but had been assassinated by highway men. Overwhelmed with grief, Sāgara had set out with his family for the country of

the Yavanas, which was the native place of his wife. Their ship has been wrecked; Samudradinnā alone has been carried to the coast by the currents. Not without some hesitation, Sānudāsa reveals his own identity and in answer to the questions of Samudradinnā he relates the story of his own misfortunes. Frightful storm.

5th Reading.

307-331 : That storm saves them from starvation. The sea has thrown up fragments of planks, fishes and fruits. They have something wherewith to feed themselves and to build a kind of shelter. One night the fire which they were keeping burning is seen by a passing ship. The merchant who is on board recognizes in Sānudāsa the son of Mitravarman. He takes with him the two victims of the shipwreck. A large quantity of pearls which Samudradinnā has found in the oysters they were eating makes them wealthy. The merchant acts the part of Samudradinnā's father and gives her in marriage to Sānudāsa.

332-367 : Another shipwreck. Sānudāsa sees Samudradinnā drawn by the current towards the open sea whilst he is thrown back on the coast. Believing his wife to be dead he advances into the interior of the country. After many days of solitude, he reaches a village, the inhabitants of which speak a barbarian language. At last one of them manages to understand him and informs him that he is with the Pāṇḍyas not far from Mathurā. On the way he comes across a hospital. He is received there. The head of the house enquires from him whether he has met on his way a certain Sānudāsa. The illustrious merchant Gāṅgadatta of Tāmraliptī has a search made for him all over the world. Sānudāsa thinks that it is useless for him to reveal his identity, as he has made up his mind not to live at his uncle's expense. He simply replies that Sānudāsa has escaped the shipwreck but has gone on another ship.

368-422 : In the bazaar of Mathurā he soon finds an opportunity to make use of his talents in appraising diamonds. His reputation grows rapidly ; the king sends for him and makes him appraise gems, the value of which no one has been able to determine so far. By way of salary he gives him a house. But soon customers become rare. He tries another experiment and goes in for cotton. One night all his cotton bales take fire. It is the custom of Mathurā that the man whose house is in a blaze should throw himself into the fire. Sānudāsa is afraid that the ferocious Dravidas may force him to follow the local custom. He escapes into the country and falls exhausted on the road. Some travellers on their way to Mathurā find him. They are messengers from Gāṅgadatta who, having heard that his nephew was a cotton merchant at Mathurā, has sent for him. Sānudāsa, firm in his resolution, informs them that Sānudāsa is dead, that he has been thrown into a fire by the Pāṇḍyas! The messengers, afraid to take that bit of bad news to the uncle, resolve not to return to Tāmraliptī and they set out for the south. This does not fall in with Sānudāsa's idea. He calls them back, reveals his identity and all return together to Gāṅgadatta's house.

6th Reading.

423-518 ; Sāṇudāsa still refuses to be under obligation to his uncle and to go

back to Campā. He joins the gang of the adventurer, Ācera, who is preparing an expedition to the Land of Gold. They cross the sea and land at the foot of a mountain. They climb up to the top by catching hold of creepers. This is the "creepers path". On the plateau there is a river which changes into stone everything that falls into it. They cross it by holding on to the bamboos which overhang the banks. This is "the bamboos path". Further on they meet a narrow path between two precipices. They light a fire with wet branches; the smoke attracts some Kirātas who come and propose to sell them some goats; the adventurers get on those goats, the only animals sure-footed enough to be able to follow the narrow edge without feeling giddy. This is "the goats' path". The adventurers do not come to the end of it without some difficulty as another gang is approaching from the opposite direction. A struggle ensues but Ācera's troops are able to pass through after having thrown their enemies into the ravines. Sānudāsa begins to feel indignant at the fierceness of the gold seekers. Ācera orders his followers to slay the goats and to put on their skins with the inside out. Huge birds will mistake those men for a heap of raw meat, come and carry them away to their aerie. It is there the gold is! Sānudāsa attempts to save the goat he was riding but his companions are pitiless. Everything takes place as Ācera had foretold but the bird which carries off Sānudāsa is attacked by another bird which attempts to steal his prey. The goat's skin bursts open and Sānudāsa falls in a tank which is in the heart of a luxuriant forest. The next day he comes to a river the banks of which are of golden sand; near by there is a hermitage from which a hermit comes out.

7th Reading.

519-541: The hermit is Bharadvāja. It is his magic power which has influenced the whole of Sānudāsa's life in order to make him subservient to his own ends. The desired result has been gained. Sānudāsa has nothing but loathing for gold. He is enamoured of poverty. The hermit keeps him for some time with him to complete his education. Sānudāsa longs more and more to see again the miserable hut where his mother lives. He comes to regard as blessings all the misfortunes which have been a lesson to him. One day a party of young maids comes down in an aerial chariot. Bharadvāja takes one of them on his lap. "My daughter Gandharvadattā," says he, "hereafter, Sānudāsa shall be thy father."

542-577: Gandharavadattā explains. She is the daughter of Bharadvāja and of Suprabhā, daughter of the king of the Gandharvas whom Indra, afraid of the austerities of the holy man, had sent to seduce him. Suprabhā, far from being successful, has fallen under the influence of the saint, but he, satisfied with her submission, has granted her the child she desired from him as a token of his satisfaction. Gandharvadattā has been brought up in the city of the Gandharvas. She is skilled in all the arts but more especially in music. Bharadvāja gives Sānudāsa a marvellous lute with the following instructions: Gandharvadattā must wed only a king of the Vidyādharas. Let there be at Campā a musical competition every six months. At it Gandharavadattā will sing the *nārāyaṇastuti*. The man who will know this song will become her husband.

578-614 : They set out. Sānudāsa falls asleep. In waking up he finds himself in a golden litter surrounded with indescribable luxury. Bharadvāja has obtained all that wealth through the merits of his ascetic life. Suddenly they find themselves near Campā. Dhruvaka and the former friends of Sānudāsa come to meet him but they are altogether ashamed of themselves. All the people gather to witness this wonderful return home. The king himself insists on coming to welcome Sānudāsa who, having presented every one with valuable gifts, reaches his father's house which he has ordered to be bought back again.

8th Reading.

615-703 : A strange sight meets him. His first wife is in tears ; Gaṅgadattā is wiping them away. Samudradinnā herself comes in. Sānudāsa cannot believe his eyes. On one side he is glad and on the other he is completely shocked. What has Gaṅgadattā to do here ? Mitravatī intervenes—she explains that the king knew everything through his spies. The very night when Sānudāsa had slept in his mother's hut the king made Gaṅgadattā restore all the money she had extorted. That money was left with a trustee and Gaṅgadattā came to live with Mitravatī, in the hope of Sānudāsa's return. He would be wrong to drive her away now. Her behaviour has been good. He must keep her as one of his wives. "All right," says Sānudāsa, "but how does Samudradinnā happen to be here also ?" The king has been kept informed of his adventures as far as his arrival at Tāmraliptī through the leader of the caravan, Siddhārthaka. The rest, up to the burning of the cotton bales, and the second sojourn at Tāmraliptī has been made known through a letter of Gāṅgadatta. Nothing has been heard of Sānudāsa after his departure with Ācera. One day Samudradinnā has arrived brought by her brothers : these after accompanying their parents to the country of the Yavanas, had returned to explore the coasts in the hope of recovering their sister. They arrived just in time to drag out Samudradinnā who was drowning. She informed them of her marriage and her brothers took her back to her mother-in-law at Campā. Everything is explained satisfactorily, and ever since Sānudāsa has led a virtuous life fulfilling all his duties as chief of the merchants' guild.

VI. AJINĀVATĪLĀBHA (S. XIX–XX).

19. *Nalinikākhyāna* (K.S.S., B.K.M., Nil.).

1-21 : Naravāhanadatta is living at Campā with Gandharvadattā. One day the magician, Vikacika, presents himself and Gandharvadattā loads him with her favours. Naravāhanadatta becomes jealous. His wife vindicates herself. This Vikacika is a brother of a king of the Vidyādharas, Gaurīmuṇḍa. He is now occupied with devilish observances (*bhūtavrata*). If he succeeds he will be the most dangerous of enemies. But while he is performing the gaurīvrata, Gaurī grants to the woman who honours him the choice of a wish. Gandharvadattā has satisfied Gaurī and has thus procured the means to reduce to nil the malefices of Vikacika.

22-61 : Sānudāsa begs of Naravāhanadatta to be present at the yātrā of the tank of the crocodiles. On the way they reach a village of Mātaṅgas. Naravāhanadatta falls in love with a Mātaṅgī. He manages to give the slip to his father-in-law

in order to go and meet the object of his new love; but he cannot escape Gandharvadattā's watchful eyes. The next day his wife scolds him. "I do not wish to be a Naḷinikā," says she. "What dost thou mean?" She relates the following story.

Gandharvadattā's Narrative.

62-74: Manōhara, son of Vasanta, king of Kānanadvīpa, is like the ministers, Bakula and Açoka, very fond of perfumes. A stranger, Sumaṅgala, who is thoroughly conversant with the gandhaçāstras, manages to take his fancy and enters his service.

75-111: Manōhara falls in love with a painting representing a yakṣī. The painting is transformed into a living yakṣī. It is Sukumārikā who had been condemned by a curse of Kuvēra to exist hereafter only as a picture. She invites Manōhara to come to her to mount Çrīkuñja, the abode of the Yakṣas, and then flies away. But who knows the Çrīkuñja? A merchant relates that having once lost his way in a storm he has passed by that mountain the summits of which look like horns and are made of diamonds. With the help of his indications, Manōhara prepares a sea chart, fits up a ship, departs with his friends and reaches the Çrīkuñja.

112-153: He climbs up the mountain; on the top there is a town, the city of the Yakṣas. He spends five days with Sukumārikā, but as a man is not allowed to remain longer, Sukumārikā sends him back to Kānanadvīpa, promising that she will join him there. She keeps her word; for a full year she comes every evening and goes away in the morning. After that she informs him that for one year she owes herself to Kuvēra and then disappears.

154-199: Manōhara feels that the separation will be too long. Sumaṅgala advises him to go back to the city of the Yakṣas. They set sail—Shipwreck—Manōhara makes for the coast by swimming. He is robbed by a gang of thieves and then rescued by horsemen who take him to their city. Manōhara is surprised to find Sumaṅgala already there. This one explains the adventure: The city is Nāgapura, the capital of king Puraṃdara, father of a daughter, Naḷinikā. She has refused all suitors. Puraṃdara has ordered Sumaṅgala to go all over the world to find a husband worthy of her. At Kānanadvīpa, Sumaṅgala has made up his mind that it should be Manōhara, and then he has made himself welcome to him by his talents. He was hoping to carry him off one day and bring him to Nāgapura. But the love of Sukumārikā coming in the way has prevented him for a long time from carrying out his plans. At last he has been successful. The shipwreck was pre-arranged. The ship was to be lost in a place where it would be easy to escape. Manōhara weds Naḷinikā. The young wife keeps a silent watch over her husband, but one night when she had been careless enough to leave him alone, Sukumārikā comes in unexpectedly and carries him off. She has never restored him.

200-204: "This is the reason why I keep a watch over thee," concludes Gandharvadattā, "I suspect that caṇḍālī is not a genuine mātaṅgi."

20. *Ajināvatīlābha*

1st Reading (K.S.S., B.K.M., Nil.).

1-34: Naravāhanadatta lives with Gandharvadattā as if he had forgotten everything. One day Vīṇādattaka informs him that he has met in the street an old woman whom passers-by suspect of being a goddess; she has come up to him and said: "I have given my daughter, Ajināvatī to thy master." Naravāhanadatta laughs at the idea; he sends to the old woman to tell her that before that marriage is arranged he has many people to be consulted. "What is the use," she replies, "of consulting Udayana, Vāsavadattā, Rumaṇvat, etc.? Is this the way a man of honour behaves?" "How does she know my name," says he to himself. Gandharvadattā in a fright falls into a fever. Her husband makes her spend the night on the terrace: at last she falls asleep. A ghost appears; what is to be done?—strike him?—but then Gandharvadattā will wake up at the noise. Naravāhanadatta keeps quiet. The ghost takes him on his shoulders and carries him off; nobody sees him pass.

35-92: Strange noises are heard during the night in the streets of Campā. Naravāhanadatta who has made good use of Gomukha's lessons, interprets to himself all those noises. Outside the walls, the corpse of a child, that of a man, of a young woman who has been hanged supply him with other subjects for his ingenious deductions. They arrive at the cremation ground.

2nd Reading.

93-121: The old hag is busy with a magic ceremony. She orders the ghost to put down his burden and to clear away. Her name is Dhanavatī. Among the Vidyādharas her husband, Mahāsiṃha, is the king of the Mātaṅgas. Her son Caṇḍasiṃha has a daughter, Ajināvatī by name, who has seen Naravāhanadatta on his way to the yātrā and has fallen in love with him. To ensure the happiness of her grand-daughter, Dhanavatī has caused the desired husband to be carried away by a ghost who was in her service. Whether he likes it or not he shall wed Ajināvatī. The maid is commanded to come in and their hands are joined.	K.S.S., 14, II (CVI) 33-43; B.K.M., 13, 80-83; Dhanavatī, wife of Siṃha and mother of Caṇḍaṣiṃha and of Ajināvatī, recognizes the hero through her magic science.
122-131: Besides, this marriage has its advantages: The Vidyādhara, Gaurīmuṇḍa, brother of Aṅgāraka (*cf.* sarga 9, 77-108), is seeking to kill Naravāhanadatta since he has restored Amṛtagati to life. An alliance with Caṇḍasiṃha will mean a useful support to him.	(Gaurīmuṇḍa, enemy of Naravāhanadatta; Caṇḍasiṃha his ally)—The danger which threatens Naravāhanadatta is mentioned.

132-166: A flying chariot comes down from heaven, Naravāhanadatta gets into it. They arrive at the city of Caṇḍasiṃha. After some delay an auspicious day is selected for the marriage. Naravāhanadatta weds Ajināvatī.

Dhanavatī carries him off and makes him marry Ajināvatī. The delay is mentioned. Marriage takes place later on [K.S.S., 14, III (CVII), 31-35; B.K.M. 13, 150—154]. Meanwhile, Dhanavatī carries off the hero to Çravāstī (to Avantī, B.K.M.).

3rd Reading (K.S.S., B.K.M., Nil.).

167-204: Ajināvatī is sad! The Vidyādhara Vikacika had formerly asked for her in marriage. Her father had replied that she was too young. Vikacika has spread the rumour that she was betrothed to him. Now he institutes a suit against Caṇḍasiṃha. Naravāhanadatta and Ajināvatī must go to Saptaparṇa, the headquarters of the court presided over by Vāyumukta (by Vāyupatha according to K.S.S., CVI, 164). Whilst Ajināvatī goes to call on her relations and friends, Naravāhanadatta takes a walk in the gardens of the city, making wreaths of flowers and leaves. Ajināvatī comes and joins him. The case has not even been argued, but Vāyumukta has thrown out Vikacika's complaint; this one has left with his mouth full of threats.

205-226: Naravāhanadatta adorns Ajināvatī with his garlands of flowers; scene of jealousy. He knows too well how to do it—it is easy to see that she is not the first one he has adorned in that way! etc. The hero begins to feel the chain that binds him rather heavy. He regrets his own independence and feels the subjection under which his wife and her parents hold him. In spite of all he puts a good face on it and accompanies Ajināvatī to a tīrtha. Vikacika appears on the scene, abuses him and carries away Ajināvatī.

227-260: He sees Caṇḍasiṃha at the head of an army of Vidyādharas pass in pursuit of the abductor; he finds himself alone, lost in the forest, he walks on till he is quite exhausted. At last he hears some one shouting; it is a cow-herd who is getting his cows together. He goes up to him. The cow-herd gives him hospitality in his hut.

4th Reading (K.S.S., B.K.M., Nil.).

261-292: The cow-herd shows him the way to a village. At the entrance a man exclaims: "This is the brother of the young lord!"—"What is that?"—"A young man had come one day saying that he was seeking for his brother who, like him, was a native of Avantī; from that time he is living in the village exciting the people's wonder by his ingenuity."—"It is really my brother," exclaims Naravāhanadatta. His presentiments have not deceived him. He falls into Gomukha's arms.

Gomukha's Narrative.

293-356: Gomukha explains all that has taken place at Kauçāmbī after the abduction of his master by Mānasavega. Udayana, in spite of the protestations of the soothsayer Ādityaçarman was very anxious. One day they saw Vegavatī return, but she retired to her room. She was accompanied by Amṛtagati who explained, in a few words, to Udayana his son's disappearance, adding that

Mānasavega had been overcome by Vegavatī and that Naravāhanadatta was safe at Campā. Gomukha guessed that Amṛtagati was telling only a part of the truth and got out of him a supplement of information. The Vidyādhara explained in detail how at the call of his former saviour he rescued him from the well and how at his request he had gone and joined Vegavatī, who, however, was in no need of his services. Through her magic science she discovered that Naravāhanadatta was at Campā and they found their way there. Vegavatī under the form of a man managed to get into Vīṇādattaka's house. She was able to overhear the conversations of Naravāhanadatta with his host, and even what he was saying to himself. "Vegavatī," he said, "has made me forget Madanamañjukā; a third wife will make me forget the second!" Vegavatī then wanted to die. Amṛtagati exhausted in vain all his philosophy in order to prevent her from putting an end to herself. Then he announced his intention of dying with her. His friend's wife had been entrusted to him. He could not separate his fate from hers; that would be a sin!

357-411: An example:—A rat had its hole on the bank of the Bhāgīrathī and lived in it with his wife and children. When he was away from home a friend came from the city to pay him a visit; the river overflows, the rat's wife begs in vain of the friend to save her family. He shuns his duty and crosses alone over to the other bank. The father of the family, after having escaped a thousand dangers, comes to take away his wife and children, but finds them drowned. The selfish friend, when the flood has subsided, attempts to excuse himself: "Your wife" he says, "refused to run away with me." He ought to have died with her. Anyhow he is altogether disgraced. Accordingly Amṛtagati anxious to preserve his honour was ready to die with Vegavatī, but she changed her mind and determined to live.

412-438: Thereupon Amṛtagati left Kauçāmbī. Udayana organized a caravan under Hariçikha as leader. 500 elephants, 5,000 horses, 20,000 men on foot left to bring Naravāhanadatta from Campā. An army of barbarians attacked them. Gomukha's horse, maddened by his wounds, carried him far away from the battlefield and ran so many miles that at last he fell down dead. Then Gomukha, finding himself alone in a desert country, climbed up a tree, discovered this village where he has taken refuge under an assumed name, and has remained there waiting to see what was going to happen. Rumour has informed him that the army of Hariçikha has defeated the barbarians.

VII. PRIYADARÇANĀLĀBHA (S. XXI, XXVII).

21. *Daivākhyāna* (K.S.S., B.K.M., Nil.).

[*This story and the following one (on the Puruṣakāra) have nothing to do with the narrative of the two Brahmins in the book of Madirāvatī of the K.S.S., and of the B.K.M.*]

1-29: After a month's rest Gomukha suggests their going away. The two friends could go to Benares where so many travellers meet: there they might get news of their people. Gomukha makes the journey look shorter by his jokes and

his stories. At the gates of the city they take rest under a shed. Gomukha makes his master hand him over all his jewels as there are so many thieves about ; then he goes to get information and Naravāhanadatta waits for him.

30-55 : A mendicant ascetic and a Brahmacārin come also to take rest under the shed. "The first is a heretic, the second is a robber," says Naravāhanadatta to himself, "let us be on our guard." Meanwile he listens to their conversation. The mendicant has realized the falseness of all the philosophies : *Çruti* and *smṛti* are nothing more than meaningless words.—The other one is indignant.—"Look at this man," says the mendicant, pointing to Naravāhanadatta ; "if one is to believe the holy books, he bears the physical marks of the cakravartin ; and yet what is he ? a vagabond in rags."—"But," replies the Brahmacārin, "the physical marks on an individual are only the signs of destiny (*daiva* or *pūrvakarman*). They are not necessarily efficacious by themselves, but become so only by voluntary action (*puruṣa-kāra*); otherwise they are like a bow that is not bent or a grain that is not sown. If this vagabond has not become cakravartin, though he was predestined to be one, we must conclude that it has been for lack of will, not that the sacred books are untruthful."—"Nonsense," replies the mendicant, "predestination is bound to reduce to nought every human effort ; listen rather to this story."

56-109 : "In the village of Brahmasthalaka, on the banks of the Indus, near the sea, the Brahmacārin, Dṛḍhodyama, brought up by a certain Tamobhedaka, became the pupil of the ascetic Bhinnatamas, of the sect of the Pāñcarātrikas. One day, Bhinnatamas informed his disciple that he was going to Benares to live according to the laws of Buddha ; 'as for thyself', he added, 'get married and become the head of a family ; I leave thee all my belongings.' Dṛḍhodyama, before coming to a decision wanted to ask for Tamobhedaka's advice. His visit to his foster-father being rather long, Bhinnatamas came to see what was going on. Dṛḍhodyama had not yet been able to see Tamobhedaka as his wife was in the throes of child birth. Bhinnatamas foretold Dṛḍhodyama that the child was to be a girl whom he would wed but that she would be a guilty wife. 'No,' says the other. Whereupon his master set out for Benares. Women's cries, sounding as "if cats had been caught by dogs," made Dṛḍhodyama guess that a girl was born. He ran away and for twelve years roamed over the world and at last settled down on the banks of the Ganges with an old Brahmani, as tutor of her two grandsons.

110-172 : His pupils had a sister, ugly and mis-shaped. Her name was Tamālikā. He was made to marry her. He believed that he had defeated fate, but it was an error. An unheard of concourse of circumstances made that Tamālikā was precisely the daughter of Tamobhedaka. Again Dṛḍhodyama made himself scarce ; by this means at least he would not see his wife become an adultress. He wandered again for twelve years. Having become old he made up his mind to end his days at Benares. There he met a "mahāpāçupata" with a woman; both were drunk. The woman fell at his feet : it was Tamālikā ! Misery had reduced her to become the companion of that despicable vagabond. She followed Dṛḍhodyama. Fate, less severe, made him meet another woman wealthier and of

good family whom he wedded. Still Tamālikā did not leave him. He had to bear up with her till his death."

22. *Puruṣakārakathā.*

1st Reading.

The Brahmacārin starts a story of his own :

1-46 : Two merchants : Sāgaradatta of Ujjayanī, Buddhavarman of Rājagṛha. They meet when they are on a journey. They betroth their childern who are not yet born. During their absence both the childern are born. To Sāgaradatta a beautiful girl, Kundamālikā ; to Buddhavarman a dwarf one-eyed and mis-shaped Kurubhaka. As the dowry of Kundamālikā is likely to be very handsome, Buddhavarman hides from Sāgaradatta his son's deformity.

47-101 : Eight years later Sāgaradatta sends messengers to have a look at his future son-in-law. Buddhavarman hides him and says that he is prosecuting his studies at Tāmraliptī. Four or five years later new embassy from Sāgaradatta. This time there is no pretext to hide the young man. Buddhavarman's wife invents an expedient ; she borrows from a neighbouring Brahmin his son Yajñagupta, handsome and well-set. Everything is satisfactory. Sāgaradatta's messengers return home quite pleased. Yajñagupta agrees with Buddhavarman to play the part of the bridegroom. His reward will be the dowry, and after that he will give up his wife to Kurubhaka. The two young people are sent with great pomp to Ujjayanī.

102-133 : Yajñagupta receives the dowry and as soon as the wedding ceremonies are over he complains of great pains in his inside. The sham sickness goes on. Kundamālikā and Kurubhaka act as his nurses. The latter pays his addresses to the girl, but without success. Yajñagupta seeing that Kurubhaka is really too deformed and has no chance to get his object, asks to go away. The air of his native country will certainly cure him, says he. His desire is complied with.

2nd Reading.

134-163 : The nearer they come to Rājagṛha the better the patient feels. At the gate of the city, he manages without being seen, to change his splendid costume and to put on his old rags and then he makes himself scarce. Kurubhaka puts on the wedding clothes of the bridegroom and in that garb presents himself before the astonished bride. They enter the city ; the people are indignant at seeing such an ill-matched couple. Buddhavarman congratulates himself on the success of his trick and Kundamālikā would in the end have resigned herself to her fate, if Yajñagupta had not put in his appearance again. "Kurubhaka," he says, "is the husband whom fate has assigned to thee." Then he disappears. The young woman, altogether shocked, runs after him but he is lost in the crowd.

164-183 : How can she escape being pursued? she asks herself. She spots Kāpālika who is lying dead drunk in a street. She steals his rags and in that garb goes out of the city. In a suburb she enters into conversation with an old Brāhmaṇī, who gives her to understand that public opinion is in her favour. She

reveals her identity. The old lady gives her shelter. Meanwhile Buddhavarman has set the Police after her.

184-228 : The following day, disguised again as a mendicant, wrinkled and not easy to be recognized, she goes into the city and asks for Yajñagupta's residence. He is occupied with the study of the laws of Manu *(manāvī dharmasaṃhitā)*. Is it not perfectly ridiculous after the great sin he has committed? She lectures him to induce him to repair the wrong he has done to the woman he has duped—but all that is in vain—every day new objurgations and new refusals. She then tries to get at him through cupidity. Having sold her jewels she puts the money she has realized in a pot which she buries on the outskirts of a forest. Then she reveals the hiding place to Yajñagupta, pretending to have discovered it through her knowledge of the Mahākālamata. She is going away, she says, as she is bound to make a pilgrimage to Benares.

229-239 : Yajñagupta's father tells his son : "The Vedas are no good. You had better study that Mahākālamata." He then follows the sham mendicant and goes with him to Benares.

3rd Reading.

240-273 : Having remained there for four months they go into the Naimiṣa, then to Gaṅgādvāra and then to Mahālaya. At last the sham Kāpālika expresses his intention to go to Ujjayanī ; on the occasion of a yātrā there will be then a great concourse of Kāpālikas. It will be a fine opportunity for all kinds of orgies and brawls. If he could meet with his death, says Yajñagupta to himself, he would leave me the Mahākālamata. This is the reason why he accompanies him, though the city is dangerous for him owing to the certainty, that the parents of Kundamālikā must take vengeance upon him. He stops at the tīrtha of Bhadravaṭa, whilst his friend goes to join the Kāpālikas on the banks of the Siprā. There, Kundamālikā uncovers herself and appears without any veil. The crowd surrounds and escorts her.

274-312 : Thus escorted, she sets out for her father's house. To her wondering parents she explains her conduct. Her brothers go to the tīrtha and taking hold of the terrified Yajñagupta drag him to the house. Being rather laughed at than threatened, he begs pardon for his fault, which he had committed at the command of his father. He is forgiven on condition that he will remain at Ujjayanī with Kundamālikā, and that he will make a good husband.

This is how a woman has lifted up the "mountain of destiny".

23. *Nandopanandakathā.*

[*Nothing to do with the story of Ghaṇṭa and Nighaṇṭa* (K.S.S., 18, II (CXXI) 229 sq.)—*Sunda and Upasunda* (K.S.S., 3, I (XV), 135 sq.; B.K.M., 3, 62 sq.]

1-7 : The men who had been talking having gone, Naravāhanadatta sees Gomukha arrive in a carriage with a rich personage, Punarvasu ; Gomukha introduces him as their host. "Where did you pick up this new friend ? he asks in the evening.

8-79: Having gone to the gate of the Royal Palace, he attracted the attention of a rich personage by giving himself out to him as a young Brahmin, who has come with his brother to Avantī for the purpose of prosecuting their studies. The man graciously invites him to his house. They hear a great noise. What is it? It comes from a gambling house. The rich merchant Punarvasu is the cause of the uproar. When he wins, he gives money to the poor. Hence a concert of blessings! When he loses, it is a concert of lamentations and prayers. Out of curiosity, Gomukha goes to the gambling den; he acts as a referee between two partners who are quarrelling; he then gambles himself with his master's jewels as a stake and wins 100,000 pieces; the loser pays up, thanks to Punarvasu. Then Punarvasu takes his new friend to his house and offers hospitality to him; both vie with each other in graceful attentions. At last Punarvasu insists on going to bring also the brother of his guest.

80-98: Naravāhanadatta is ashamed to live at the expense of this merchant. As Gomukha has plenty of money, they ought to pay now for their up-keep. He asks Punarvasu to get a cook for them. The merchant introduces two, who at once fall on all fours at the feet of Naravāhanadatta. The first meal they serve up is worthy of the gods. Their new master, in order to attach them to his service, makes Gomukha give them ten thousand pieces of gold.

99-124: One of them declines to accept the money. "Our master," he says "is in very low circumstances." "How is that," replies the other. "Does he not possess millions of aerial chariots?" and he takes the money. Gomukha puzzled asks them for some information. Their names are Nanda and Upananda, sons of Devavat, who is the cook and medical advisor of Brahmadatta. His skill is so great that the king has granted him one-tenth part of the revenues of his kingdom. He has made his sons proficient in all the arts, to enable them to push themselves into the good graces of people of high rank. They know the signs which foretell future good fortunes. Their new master is predestined to become Vidyādhara and cakravartin. They can be trusted. This is the reason why they have saluted him by falling on all fours in front of him.

24. *No heading in the text.*

1-37: One day, Naravāhanadatta sees a çramaṇī passing by, escorted by her disciples. It is Ṛṣidattā, a friend of the king's daughter. She has adopted the creed of the Jaīnas. Punarvasu tries to give his guests the pleasure of a conversation with her. As he is unsuccessful, Gomukha proposes they should go to the temple where the sect assembles. They all go there. Gomukha, who is always at home everywhere, intones a hymn to the Jina and to his church, and kisses Ṛṣidattā's feet. They are made welcome. Upananda asks that a musical entertainment should be given in honour of the two visitors. Two members of the sect are sent for. Their skill, it is said, is remarkable; they are Gaṅgarakṣita and the chief of the guild of merchants, Priyadarçana. Naravāhanadatta is excited

by the good looks of the latter. He loses his head and he salutes him as if he were a woman. This great blunder causes a certain amount of coolness.

38-73: The vīṇā is handed over from hand to hand, till it reaches Gomukha. Every one is greeted with applause. It is thy turn now, says Gomukha to his master. 'I,' replies Naravāhanadatta, 'to play for those scoundrels, those ragamuffins!' 'Thou didst not put on such airs at Campā,' retorts Gomukha. 'Besides, wilt thou let us be outdone by that merchant, Priyadarçana, who has played better than I.' Naravāhanadatta gives in. He becomes the hero of the entertainment. Gaṅgarakṣita and Priyadarçana beg of him to be allowed to become his pupils. That will give him a great influence at Benares where Priyadarçana, the chief of merchants, holds a great part of the populace under his sway.

25. *Gomukhavivāhākhyāna*.

1-14: Gomukha absents himself frequently. His pretext is that he has noticed in the street a servant of Hariçikha, and he must look for him. Eight days later, he comes back quite drunk. His master is indignant. 'My drunkenness is a sham,' replies Gomukha. 'I only wanted to be able to say something not nice and then plead irresponsibility.' 'What is it then?'

Gomukha's Narrative.

15-33: He has fallen in love with Ṛṣidattā and has gone to see her. She has questioned him about his travels: Dost thou know Kaucāmbī? Hast thou seen Gomukha? Yes, he has said, he is my most intimate friend, another myself in fact. How handsome he is, answers Ṛṣidattā, and she begins to shed tears.

34-63: Ṛṣidattā happens to be the daughter of Mahadinna, merchant from Rājagṛha, brother of Mahadinnā, mother of Gomukha. At her birth she was betrothed to Gomukha, but Mahadinna having lost his fortune, was forced to send his daughter to his sister Sumanas at Benares, and that put a stop to the engagement. Whilst a child, Ṛṣidattā nearly died of a fever. The Çramaṇī Çrutadharā cured her. After which she never could leave that woman, as when she was away from her, the fever caught hold of her again. Çrutadharā brought her up in the creed of the Jina, and at her death left her chief of that sect. In spite of her religious vows she was always thinking of Gomukha. One day she heard that on his way to Campā he had been massacred by the Pulindas. That is the reason of her tears.

64-96: Gomukha is not slow in making the best of her compassionate feelings. He gives money to the church and pretends to be ill, as the result of his having fasted. He is taken to Ṛṣidattā's house. She nurses him, falls in love with him, gives up her vows and weds him in the presence of Sumanas and of Priyadarçana.

97-109: Naravāhanadatta pays a visit to his friend's wife, and congratulates her not without some sneering to the address of the church.

26. *Priyadarcanāstanadarcana*.

1-21: Naravāhanadatta meets Priyadarçana on his way to the market place. The merchant's robe, opening at the neck, reveals a woman's breast. Naravāhanadatta, losing his senses, asks Gomukha to send for Priyadarçana, as he is bent

on marrying her. "Thou art mad, how will public opinion look upon this match? Every one knows the chief of the merchants as a man!" "The whole city knew also Ṛṣidattā as a nun!" They begin to quarrel.

22-40: Gomukha narrates the story of the Brahmin Satyakañcika, who saw a stone crossing the Ganges; he related the fact to his disciples, but denied it in the presence of the King, not to go against public opinion, which shows that one ought always to be careful not to go contrary to popular sentiment!

41-51: Gomukha, convinced that his master is mad, sends for several medical men. Their diagnosis is that it is a case of madness brought about by the privation of an object on which Naravāhanadatta has set his heart. He resolves at last to make Priyadarçana dine with his master.

27. *Priyadarcanāvivāha.*

1st Reading.

1-23: The behaviour of Naravāhanadatta with Priyadarçana becomes a scandal. Gomukha removes suddenly the young merchant. Furious, Naravāhanadatta turns Gomukha out. The following day two dignitaries of the Court come for the hero and take him to king Brahmadatta.

24-57: By order of the king, the commander-in-chief imparts some information to "the young Brahmin" (Naravāhanadatta): Kāliya, chief of the guild of merchants, a friend of the king, had died many years ago leaving his wife with child. She gave birth to a son, Priyadarçana, who having reached man's estate succeeded his father as the chief of the guild. But Kāliya has just returned, relating that his virtues had merited heaven for him, but that his wife on account of a great sin has caused him to be sent back to the earth. She had told a big lie when she said that her child was a son, in reality it was a daughter. To atone for this crime—as husbands have to pay for the guilt of their wives—he has become a man again with the privilege to remember his previous existence. He asks to-day that the sex of his daughter should be acknowledged and that she should be married. Brahmadatta has at first suspected an imposture, but the new Kāliya has answered so satisfactorily all his questions about their former relations, that he has had to yield to evidence, after which Kāliya has withdrawn. The young maid has been sent for; the queens have proposed to her several husbands, but she has chosen the young Brahmin who is staying with Punarvasu.

Naravāhanadatta intimates his consent. Brahmadatta confers upon him the dignity of chief of the guild, as well as all the possessions of Kāliya.

2nd Reading.

58-68: Naravāhanadatta is overjoyed now that he has won Priyadarçanā; he is in a mood to forgive Gomukha and sends for him. Gomukha arrives quite pleased with himself. "To succeed in life," says he, "one must have a good *karman* and also a certain amount of cunning." He fortunately can boast of both.

Gomukha's Narrative.

69-117: After having been driven away by his master he has taken refuge with Ṛṣidattā and has related all their adventures to her. She in return has also

taken him into her confidence. Her aunt, Sumanas, was a wife of Kāliya. She had from him a posthumous daughter. As good fortune was deserting her, she had recourse to the good offices of the Vidyādharī Priyadarçanā, who was well disposed towards her. The Vidyādharī has foretold that the child would wed a future cakravartin. Meanwhile she has tied round her neck a magic plant, which would make every one take her for a boy. The cakravartin alone will discover that she is a girl. The child grows up and becomes chief of a guild under the name of Priyadarçana. The day of the musical entertainment in the temple, when Naravāhanadatta had saluted Priyadarçana as a woman, Ṛṣidattā has recognized in him the cakravartin and has come to the conclusion that his friend was Gomukha. The rest of her behaviour is easily explained. Now, it is Gomukha's business to bring about his master's union with Priyadarçanā.

Gomukha does not forgive himself for having been caught nodding; he thinks of putting an end to himself, but a voice tells him not to do it. At that moment he notices a man carrying on his shoulders a mis-shapen young man. "I cannot feed thee any longer," says the man, "and I am going to twist thy neck"—"Sell me rather to generous people"—Gomukha buys up the young cripple, makes Ṛṣidattā tell him all she knows of the relations between Kāliya and the king. She teaches the young scamp to play the part of Kāliya and sends him to Brahmadatta. The rest follows naturally. Naravāhanadatta cannot congratulate himself enough on possessing such a cunning friend.

VIII. BHAGĪRATHAYAÇOLĀBHA (S. XXVIII).

(K. S. S., 14, II (CVI), 44-49 ; B. K. M., 13, 84-86.)

28. (*No heading in the text.* K. S. S., B. K. M., Nil.)

1-40: Naravāhanadatta gives himself up to his new love. Not feeling inclined to fulfil his duties as chief of the guild, he sends for the merchants, and in their presence hands over all his power to Gomukha, thereby relieving himself of every care.

One day, a band of young girls rush into his house. One of them, Kumudikā, explains to him that Bhagīrathayaças, daughter of Brahmadatta, on the occasion of some ritual observance, is distributing presents to the Brahmins. She hands over to him the presents which are meant for him, and then offers several ornaments to Priyadarçanā. Naravāhanadatta is perplexed and Gomukha is uneasy. The next day, Kumudikā returns: her mistress has blamed her, because she has called the young man *yacobhāgin* instead of *aryaputra* * (this is the name by which a married woman calls her husband): she apologizes. All this becomes more and more suspicious.

41-85: On an invitation delivered through Kumudikā, Priyadarçanā repairs to the Royal Palace. In the evening, she returns home loaded with jewels, wearing under her clothes a loose girdle tied up by a knot badly made with the fibres of the lotus.

* *Sic* manuscripts in all passages where this word occurs.

The girdle falls down. "What is that?" asks Naravāhanadatta. Priyadarçanā relates: Bhagīrathayaças has made her talk about her husband. How is it that Nanda and Upananda, who are enjoying the tenth part of the revenues of the kingdom, are in the service of a man without a fortune. Then many other questions of an intimate nature. At last she has undone her own belt and handed it over to Priyadarçanā.

86-116: Naravāhanadatta puts his own meaning on all the details of the interview. The belt? It is a message of love. Priyadarçanā is mad with jealousy: As for him, he is already in love and he makes out his plans accordingly. A few days later Kumudikā comes again with a new message. Bhagīrathayaças invites Priyadarçanā to a wedding of plants. She will come to take her in a palanquin. "She wants to see me" thinks Naravāhanadatta. The following day she comes, takes Priyadarçanā with her and brings her back in the evening. She has allowed Naravāhanadatta to see her face; by their looks they have revealed to each other their mutual passion.

(Here end the most complete manuscripts N. and M.)

Abstract Concordance Table.

B.K.C.S.		K.S.S.	B.K.M.
		I. Kathāmukha.	
1.	1-4.	Nil.	Nil.
	5-10.	16, I (CXI), 55-56.	18, 30.
	11-48.	Nil.	Nil.
	49-91.	(57-94).	(30-84).
2.		Nil.	Nil.
3.	1-80.	16, II (CXII), 62-204.	18, 110-193.
	81-96.	1-15.	94-105.
	97-112.	I (CXI), 95-106.	85-93.
	113-126.	II (CXII), 208-214.	196.
		II. Naravāhanadattajanma.	
4.	1-12.	6, I (XXVII), 2-4.	Upasaṃhāra, 1 3. 20-21.
	13-132.	4, I (XXI), 37-137.	4, 12-40.
5.	1-83.	4, I (XXI), 138-148 (and 3, V., (XIX) 3-12.)	4, 41-42 (and 3, 295-297).
	84-175.	2, I (IX), 46-90.	2, I, 40-66.
	176-279.	Nil.	Nil
	280-296.	4, II (XXII), 9-13.	4, 45-46.
	297-326.	2, V (XIII), 35-37.	2, II, 160-161.
6.	1-16.	4, III (XXIII), 53-94; 6, I, (XXVII), 5-8.	4, 132-142.
	17-33.	Nil,	Nil,

B.K.C.S.		K.S.S.	B.K.M.
		III. Madanamañjukālābha.	
7.	1-31.	6, VIII (XXXIV), 97-130; 162-173.	7, 557-562; 571-573.
	32-82.	Nil.	Nil.
8.		Nil (except allusions 6, III (XXXIV), 174).	Nil.
9-10.		Nil.	Nil.
11.		Nil (except allusions 6, VIII (XXXIV), 162).	Nil (except allusions 7, 571).
		IV. Vegavatīlābha.	
12.	1-82.	14, I (CV), 3-53.	8, 68-75 and 13, 1-28.
	83-84.	Nil.	Nil.
13.		14, I (CV), 54-63.	13, 29-39.
14.		14, I (CV), 64-77.	13, 40-59.
15.	1-68.	Nil.	Nil.
	69-108.	14, I (CV), 78-89.	13, 60-68.
	109-159.	Nil.	Nil.
		V. Gandharvadattālābha.	
16.	1-29.	Nil.	Nil.
	30-92.	14, II (CVI), 1-21.	13, 69-73.
17.	1-98.	Nil.	Nil.
	99-164.	14, II (CVI) 22-32.	13, 74-79.
	165-180.	Nil.	Nil.
18.		Nil.	Nil.
		VI. Ajināvatīlābha.	
19.		Nil.	Nil.
20.	I (1-92).	Nil.	Nil.
	II (93-166).	14, II (CVI), 33-43 and III (CVII), 31-35.	13, 80-83 and 150-154.
	III-IV (167-437).	Nil.	Nil.
		VII. Priyadarçanālābha.	
21-27.		Nil.	Nil.
		VIII. Bhagīrathayaçolābha.	
28.		Nil (But the adventure of Bhagīrąthayaças is the subject of 14, II (CVI), 44-49).	Nil (But the adventure of Bhagīrathayaças is the subject of 13, 84-86).

CHAPTER III

OTHER VERSIONS OF THE BṚHATKATHĀ

A. SANSCRIT VERSIONS.

It is possible that there might have existed other Sanscrit versions of the Bṛhatkathā. We have already mentioned that one might have been known in the South, in which an allusion was made to a king called Valāha (*V. supra*), but this is a very vague indication. A Kathāsāra is found in Southern India (*Oppert Lists.* I, 2780). Unfortunately, I have not been able, so far, to get hold of it, but I am inclined to think that, like the Bṛhatkathāsārasaṃgraha (*V. supra*), it is a mere copy of the Kathāsaritsāgara.

I remind my readers that the very divergent forms in which are related in Indian literature the stories of Udayana and Vāsavadattā, prove nothing as to the existence of several versions of the Bṛhatkathā (*V. supra*).

The manuscript to which Mr. S. d'Oldenbourg has drawn attention*, and which bears the title of Kathāprakāça, is in the Library of the India Office, No. 4105 (Ethe's Cat. (Part VII), P. 1570). It is a compilation which is given out as a nītiçāstra, the work of a certain Miçrajagannātha. The Kathāprakāça contains (f. 1-v. to 84-v. of the mss:) tales borrowed from tars. IX-XIII, XXIV-XXXVII of the Kathāsaritsāgara. The text, according to Mr. S. d'Oldenbourg, is more or less the same, except some omissions, as that of the Kathāsaritsāgara of Brockhaus. The rest of the manuscript contains extracts from the Mahābhārata, the Harivaṃça, from some Purāṇas (Mārkaṇḍeya), tales which seem to be a mixture of the Çukasaptati and of the Simhāṣanadvātriṃçikā, though none of those tales is found in the Çukasaptati, and lastly some extracts of the Puruṣaparīkṣā. The contents of that collection show that it is rather recent, probably from the beginning of the XVIIth Century (Ethe. 1.c.p. 1573). It does not constitute a new source of information on the Bṛhatkathā and can only help in a critical study of the text of the Kathāsaritsāgara.

B. THE PERSIAN VERSION.

There has existed a Persian abridgment of the Bṛhatkathā, which in reality may have been an abridgment of the Kathāsaritsāgara, as it has been brought to notice by the Cashmerians, though they don't mention from which original it has been taken. It is mentioned in the sequence given by Çrīvara to the Rājāvalī of Jonarāja, which is itself a continuation of the Rājataraṃgiṇī.†

The Persian collection in the Library of the India Office contains (No. 1987 Ethe's Cat., p. 1105) a fragment of an abridged Persian translation in prose of the Kathāsaritsāgara, but both the beginning and the end are missing.

There is another Persian manuscript in the India Office Library, which one

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* Materiaux pour servir á l'histoire de la Bṛahatkathā (Zapiski, III, 1 (1888), pp. 4—7 du tirage á part).

† Rajatarangiṇi—Bombay edition: 1896—Tṛtīyā Rājataraṁgiṇi I. 5. 86.

might have suspected of being a version of the Bṛhatkathā and which has been thoroughly examined by Mr. S. d'Oldenbourg. That manuscript (No. 1994, Ethe's Cat., p. 1109) is accompanied by a loose leaf on which is written "Summary Table of the Bharata-Kutha and the other Puranas." The title is "Kutha and Purana." The first lines, fol. 25 v., begin thus: (fol. 1-24 having been lost): "In the Deccan Province there is a mountain called Mangala, from which flows the river Nerbudda; on the banks of that river there is a town called Ranbhā (=Rambhā) the king of which was called Singrāma Sūra (=Saṃgrāmaçura)".... The end, if we suppose that the text ends with the manuscript is..." and Singrāma-Sūra cultivated the whole surface of the earth; He is called Tchakravarta (=cakravartin)".... Mr. S. d'Oldenbourg had come to the conclusion that it was neither a Persian translation of the Kathāsaritsāgara nor of the Bṛhatkathāmañjari, but that there was a possibility that there were borrowings from Guṇāḍhya's Bṛhatkathā or some imitation of it. The complete list of the 34 stories contained in that manuscript (Ethe's Cat., p.1110) shows that it is not a coherent narrative, though the name of Saṃgrāmaçura is found at the beginning and at the end. That king is not the hero of all the tales: for instance No. 8 is the story of King Somaçarman, No. 13 that of King Pratāpa Rudra. Besides, all the tales are not about kings. No. 31 is the story of Vyāsa and of Parāçara. It is a compilation of tales which seem to be of various origin, some translated from Sanscrit, some from Hindi or Hindustani.* We must not then look here, as we might have been induced to do on the advice of Mr. S. d'Oldenbourg, for the history of a hero, who like the hero of the Bṛhatkathā, goes through several adventures before becoming cakravartin. I do not see that this collection has more connection with the Nepalese Çlokasaṃgraha than with the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā. In any case, it cannot be the Persian version of the Bṛhatkathā.

C. THE TAMIL BṚHATKATHĀ.

Paṇḍit Svāminātha Iyer has drawn attention to the existence of a Tamil version or adaptation under the name of "Udayaṇan Kadai", "Kadai" or "Peruñgadai"=Bṛhatkathā.† He has promised to edit it,‡—though he warns us that the text of the manuscript he has in his hands is in a very bad condition. The only part which can be utilized is composed of five sections:

"1.	Unjaik Kāṇḍam	58 sub-sections, of which 32 are lost.
2.	Ilāvāṇa Kāṇḍam	20 sub-sections.
3.	Magadha Kāṇḍam	17 sub-sections.
4.	Vattava Kāṇḍam	9 sub-sections.
5.	Naravāhana Kāṇḍam	9 sub-sections."

* Mr. T. W. Arnold has kindly examined this manuscript for me.

† S'ilappadhikāram, Introd., p.17.

‡ S. Krishṇaswāmi Aiyangār, Bṛhatkathā (J. of the Royal Asiatic Society, July 1906, pp. 689—692).

From this summary table it is clear that the first five books give the beginning of a version of the Bṛhatkathā, which contained neither Guṇāḍhya's Legend nor the Introduction, unless this latter be the subject-matter of the first sub-division of Book 1. The name Ujjayinī may be connected with the adventures of Gopāla, of Pālaka and Anantivardhana, as well as with those of Udayana, at Mahāsena's Court. Here they are:

	K.S.S.	B.K.M.	B.K.C.S.
1. Ujjayinī Kāṇḍa	2	2	Nil
2. Lāvāṇa Kāṇḍa	3	3	Nil
3. Magadha Kāṇḍa	3 (?)	3 (?)	Nil
4. Vatsa Kāṇḍa	4, I-II	4, 12-46	4-5
5. Naravāhana Kāṇḍa	4, III	4, 132-142	6

This version seems to be a lengthy one, though Svāminātha Iyer does not give us the number of verses, but if we judge of the respective dimensions of each book by the number of sub-divisions, the relative proportions are in agreement with those we find in the Cashmerian abridgment or in the Nepalese Bṛhatkathā.

Relying on a passage of the commentator, Aḍiyārkkunallār (who himself might belong to the first half of the XII century?), Krishṇaswāmi Aiyangār places the Tamil version of the Bṛhatkathā at a period anterior to the third Tamil school of poetry. This can be admitted without any difficulty. But to date that school as far back as the Third Century of our era, is quite another matter. I do not want to discuss here the age of Tamil Literature, but I do not believe Krishṇaswāmi Aiyangār's theory on that subject* is likely to meet with much favour.

So far, I have not been able to gather any further information about the Tamil Bṛhatkathā, but the mere fact that there has existed a Tamil version of considerable length, the plan of which seems to have had some analogy with the Çlokasaṃgraha, is in itself worth noticing. If it be true, besides, that the influence of that poem has been great, as Krishṇaswāmi Aiyangār believes, on the great Tamil Kāvyas, that fact would strengthen the theory that the Bṛhatkathā was considered much more as an Epic poem than as a compilation of tales.

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* The Augustan Age of Tamil Literature, Madras Review, 1904.

NOTICE.

The first six instalments of the Translation by the President of the Mythic Society of Professor Felix Lacōte's "Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā" were published in Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, of Vol. IV, No. 4 of Vol. V and No. 3 of Vol. VI of this Journal. At the request of many members, the Translator has kindly promised to issue the rest of the work without any further delay. As his intention is to publish the whole translation in book form, which, however, will not be for sale but only for presentation, the subsequent instalments will be published with the book pagination. In addition, 250 copies of the first six instalments have been reprinted from Vols. IV, V and VI of the Journal, so that members who have joined the Society after the publication of Vol. VI can get reprints of those instalments at the cost of Rs. 1–8 by applying to the Curator, Mythic Society, Daly Memorial Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore City.

The following is a Summary of what has already appeared in this Journal:

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N.B.—Pages 93—148 have been published in Vol. XIII No. 4 and are not issued as reprints.

THE EDITOR.

PART III

GUṆĀḌHYA'S BṚHATKATHĀ

CHAPTER I

THE FRAGMENTS OF THE PAIÇĀCĪ BṚHATKATHĀ.

THE examples of Paiçācī given by Hemacandra IV, 303-324 (ed. Pischel) are isolated words with the exception of some fragments of running text which we shall give later on.* We have no absolute proof that those examples are borrowed from the Bṛhatkathā, though this has always been considered as probable. Tāmotaro=Sk. Dāmodaraḥ (307) is the name of one of the heroes in Sūryaprabha's story (Som. 8, Kṣ. 6); Vijayasena (*Vijayasenena lapitam 324*) is the name of a personage who appears in the narration of the first Brâhmin (*Som.* 13, L (CIV), Kṣ. 11); besides, the name of Mahāsena's father is Jayasena. Sagaraputra (*sagaraputtavacanaṃ 324*) might be, after all, the merchant's name of which the hypocoristic is Sāgara (B.K.Ç.S., 18, adh. 4) (*cf.* also the Sāgaradatta of *Som.* and of *Kṣ.*, the Sāgaravarman and the Sāgaravīra of *Som.*); but names of merchants, in which enter the words sāgara and samudra, are so frequent in all the tales that they are a very weak indication.

Excepting those proper names there is no interest in reproducing isolated words, as all have the usual corresponding words in Sanskrit.

Fragments (Text of Pischel):

Hem. IV, 310: kiṃ pi kiṃ pi hitapake atthaṃ ciṃtayamānī=kam api kam api hṛdayake 'rthaṃ cintayamānā="(She) thinking in her mind of such things."

316: pudhumataṃsane (*var.* puthu—, pudha—,) savvassa yyeva sammānaṃ kīrate (*var.* kīrati)= prathamadarçane sarvasyaiva saṃmānaṃ kriyate = The first time one meets people one must be polite to them whoever they may be.

320: taṃ taṭṭhūna (*var.* daṭṭhūna, taddhūna) ciṃtitam raññā kā esā huveyya (*var.* huviyyaḥ)=tāṃ dṛṣṭvā cintitaṃ rājñā kaiṣā bhavet=The king saw her and said to himself: Who can she possibly be?

321: tāva ca (*var.* va) tīe tūrāto yyeva tiṭṭho (*var.* diṭṭho)=tāvac ca tayā dūrād eva dṛṣṭaḥ=No sooner had he seen her from afar.

322: katasinā (*var.* katasitā) nena=kṛtāsinā tena=? (krta+asi—*Pischel*)

pūjito ca (*var.* va) nāe pātaggakusumappatānena (*var.* yātaggaku—, pātamāku—) =pūjitaç ca tayā pādāgrakusuma pradānena=She did him honour in laying down flowers at his feet.

evaṃ ciṃtayaṃto gato so tāe samīpam (*var.* samīvam, samīve)=evaṃ cintayan gataḥ sa tasyāḥ samīpam=Thinking this within himself, he presented himself before her.

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* *Cf.* R. Pischel, De grammaticis Prācriticis, pag. 33 sq.

323 :· adha sasarīro bhagavaṃ makaraddhajo (*var.*—dhvajo) ittha (*var.* ettha) paribbhamaṃto huveyya=atha saçarīro bhagavān makaradhvajo 'tra paribhraman bhavet=If you were Incarnate Love taking a walk here!

evamvidhāe bhagavatīe kadhaṃ tāpasavesagahanaṃ kataṃ=evaṃvidhayā bhagavatyā kathaṃ tāpasaveçagrahaṇaṃ kṛtaṃ=Being made as thou art, how hast thou assumed the appearance of an ascetic?

etisaṃ atiṭṭhapuravaṃ (*var.*—puvvaṃ) mahādhanaṃ (*var.*—vanaṃ,—canaṃ) tatthūna (*var.* taddhūna)=īdṛçam adṛṣṭapūrvaṃ mahādhanaṃ dṛṣṭvā=Having set eyes on a personage (?) such that *he* or *she* (?) had not seen any one richer (?).

bhagavaṃ yati (*var.* yadi) maṃ varaṃ payacchase (*var.* payatthase)=bhagavan yadi me varaṃ prayacchase=Lord, if thou grantest me a wish.

rājaṃ (*var.* rāyaṃ) caṃḍāvaloka (*mss.* ca (*var.* vaṃ) dāvaloka)=rājamç Caṇḍāvaloka=O king, with a terrible aspect. (M.R. Pischel, *Hem. Gr. der. P. S.*, II, 176, restores this example differently: rājam ca dāva loke=rajāmç ca tāval loke—He says:

"Für das sinnlose *loka*, habe ich *loke* geschrieben, ohne zu meinen, damit das richtige getroffen zu haben"—

"For the meaningless *loka*, I have written *loke* without pretending to say that I have expressed the right thing." (Transl.)

I do not see what could be the meaning of *Ca* after a vocative. The form *Loka* invites us to look for a second vocative in what follows *rājaṃ*. The constant confusion between *da* and *ḍa*, which is absolute, even in well-known writings, renders insignificant the correction proposed by me. The titles in *avaloka*—epithets which, on the whole, have few characteristics of their own—have been borne, especially by the Rāṣṭrakūtas of Mālkheḍ: *cf.* Khaḍgāvaloka (Dantidurga), Vikramāvaloka (Govindarāja II)—about 750-800; Raṇāvaloka (Kambayya).* I notice also a Guṇāvaloka—Naṇna, a Dharmāvaloka—Tuṅga (grandson of the previous one) (Inscription of Bodh-Gayā)—Kielhorn, *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, *Ep. Ind.* V, app., No. 630; *cf.* Fleet. *Ep. Ind.*, (160 sq.), VI, p. 189).

tāva ca tīe tūrāto (*var.* dū—) yyeva tiṭṭho so āgacchamāno rājā (*var.* rāyā) =tavāc ca tayā dūrād eva dṛṣṭaḥ sa āgacchamāno rājā=No sooner had she seen from afar the king who was approaching.

326: Example of Cūlikāpaiçācika, though the rule of the *assourdissement général des sonores* is here not strictly observed (meter āryā):

panamatha (Anundoram Borooah panamata) panaya (A.B. panaa) pakuppita-golīcalanaggalaggapatibiṃbam (A.B.—paḍibiṃbaṃ) । tasasu nakha (A.B. naha) tappanesuṃ (A.B.—su) ekā (A.B. ehā) tasatanuthaḷaṃ (A.B.—dhalaṃ) luddaṃ ॥ 1 ॥ naccaṃtassa ya līḷāpātukkhevena kaṃpitā vasuthā । ucchallaṃti samuddā saïḷā nipataṃti taṃ halaṃ namatha ॥ 2 ॥

(*Var.* 1—ppakuppita;—kupita; calanagālagā; païbiṃbaṃ; tanuthalaṃ,

* I am indebted for those comparisons to Mr. S. Lévi.

tanutthalam, taütthalam ; luddham – 2 naccaṃtasya ; līlā ; pātukkhevenajassakaṃ-; vasudhā ; utthallaṃti, ucchalaṃti ; nitaṃtatahalaṃ, nipataṃtihalam)

—pranamata praṇayaprakopitagaurīcaraṇāgralagnapratibimbam । daçasu nakhadarpaṇeṣv ekādaçatanusthalaṃ Rudram ॥ 1 ॥ nṛtyataç ca līlāpādotkṣepeṇa kampitā vasudhā । ucchalanti samudrāḥ çailā nipatanti tam Haraṃ namata ॥ 2 ॥

=Adore him ! It is he whose image, when Gaurī is excited with love, fixes itself on the nails of the goddess's feet ten mirrors which, by reflection, give him the eleven bodies. Rudra ! It is he whose dancing, when he amuses himself by moving his feet, makes the earth quake, the oceans swell and the mountains fall.—Hara ! Adore him !

Let us set aside those stanzas of indifferent value. The other quotations seem to be borrowed from a running text, as Mr. Pischel has observed, and even, most of them from one passage. This is natural enough. Hemacandra, when he wished to quote isolated words, relied on his memory, which supplied him with some proper names and words of ordinary use, but when he wanted more lengthy examples, he opened a text at random and quoted from one page, or perhaps two, consecutive pages. It is easy enough to restore, in a general way, the scene which was related there.

A king sees from a distance a woman who takes his fancy. She has the appearance of an ascetic. Who can she be ? Never mind, says he,—when one sees some one for the first time, one can be polite to that person.—Whilst making this reflection he comes nearer. She sees him coming, pays him homage in laying flowers at his feet, thinking that perhaps he may be the God of Love. They enter into conversation—she expresses a wish.

It is useless to attempt to identify this scene with any episode of Naravāhanadatta's history, who, in our texts, never bears the title of king. In the history of Udayana and in the other tales the result of my investigations is negative ; none of the three versions gives us anything that can be the subject of a comparison.

Mr. Pischel has, tentatively it is true, compared the verses K.S.S., XI, 48-49.*. It is in the story of Angāraka's murder : "Whilst he (Caṇḍamahāsena) was standing there he saw a young maid accompanied by hundreds of women ! She was going resembling the arrow of love which makes a breach in the heart's firmness. A shower of love, made of nectar, was falling slowly from her eyes, inundating the king as she was advancing with measured steps towards him ; 'Who art thou,' says she." The situation is so different that there does not seem to be any chance for a comparison between the two to be accurate.

I may mention another one, but simply as an indication. It is in the story of Manorathaprabhā, etc., (*cf.* the Kādambarī of Bāṇa). Somaprabha, returning from a victorious campaign, has lost his way in a wood. He hears a woman's voice. (K.S.S., 10, III, (LIX)) :

gatvā tadanusāreṇa kautukān nātidūrataḥ ।
so' paçyac chivaliñgāgre gāyantīṃ divyakanyakām ॥ 81 ॥

* Gr. der P.S. 27, n. 11.

keyam adbhutarūpā syād iti taṃ ca savismayam |
sāpy udārākṛtiṃ dṛṣṭvā kṛtvātithyam avocata || 82 ||
kas tvaṃ katham imāṃ bhūmim ekaḥ prāpto'si durgamām |
etac chrutvā svavṛttāntam uktvā papraccha so'pi tām || 83 ||
tvaṃ me kathaya kāsi tvaṃ vane'smin kā ca te sthitiḥ |
iti taṃ pṛṣṭavantaṃ ca divyakanyā jagāda sā || 84 ||

Manorathaprabhā relates her history adding :

etac chrutvā parāvṛttya maraṇāt tatpratīkṣiṇī |
sthitāsmīhaiva baddhāçā çaṃkarārcanatatparā || 114 ||

"He advanced towards the direction indicated by the voice through curiosity and at a small distance, he saw, in front of a Liṅga of Çiva, a young celestial maid who was singing.—" Who can that wonder of beauty possibly be?" said he in astonishment. She too was surprised to see this prince of such noble figure. She offered him the presents of hospitality and said : " Who art thou? How hast thou been able to reach this place which is of very difficult access?" In reply he related to her his adventures and added : " Now tell me who thou art thyself, and what is the meaning of thy sojourn in this wood?" The celestial maid answered : "(*Narrative*). Thereupon I gave up all idea of dying, and longing for him (her lover), I settled down here, with deeply-seated hope in my heart, without any other occupation but to praise Çiva."

B.K.M. 16, 203-219 : The same story.

The details agree pretty well, though Somaprabha is not a king but simply a crown prince and there is no question of a wish.

It is worth noticing that it is only passages found in the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā, that one is inclined to identify with the quotations of Hemacandra—isolated proper names (*v. supra*)—or fragments of running text. That seems to show that he has taken his examples not from Guṇāḍhya's Bṛhatkathā, but from the Paiçācī Bṛhatkathāsaritsāgara, which, as we have attempted to prove, was the original of Kṣemendra and of Somadeva. I see another proof of the same fact in the use of the epithet *caṇḍāvaloka*. It is hard to believe that Guṇāḍhya should have given to one of his personages a title, which inscriptions show to have been in common use only five centuries after the time in which he probably lived. On the other hand, the century where those titles in *avaloka* are found, is precisely that one from which we have dated the Cashmerian compilation. I am rather inclined to admit that the indifferent stanzas, given as examples of Cūlikāpaiçācī, and which one would hesitate to attribute to Guṇāḍhya, might well be the invocation with which the Bṛhatkathāsaritsāgara began.

All things considered, the quotations of Hemacandra cannot give us any information on the contents of the Bṛhatkathā, and the proof, which, at first sight they might have seemed to supply in favour of the authenticity of some books of the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā (*vide supra*) does not really exist.

CHAPTER II

THE ACCURACY OF THE ÇLOKASAMGRAHA

IF you refer to the primitive plan of the Cashmerian *abridgment*, as it has been revealed to us from the study of the Kathāsaritsāgara and of the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī (*vide supra*), we see at once that our hypothesis on the formation of the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā is confirmed and the accuracy of the Çlokasaṃgraha proved beyond doubt, as far as the general plan is concerned.

With regard to the subject matter,—the Cashmerian and Nepalese versions representing two sources absolutely independent of each other,—that which is common to both is of an unquestionable authenticity. Besides, the concordance of the adventures of Vegavatī, of Gandharvadattā and of Ajināvatī, which form the beginning of the Books Pañca and Mahābhiṣeka in the Cashmerian collection, with the adventures of those personages in the sargas 12-20 of the Çlokasaṃgraha, permits us to consider the remainder of those two books as an abridgment, accurate enough, though no doubt incomplete, and surely exceedingly condensed, of the essential part of the Bṛhatkathā.

But all the matters foreign to the primitive Cashmerian *abridgment* remain open to suspicion, which the following argument will make still stronger. Let us suppose for a moment that the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā is a faithful summary of the original work. What could, in that case, have been the length of that work? To get an idea of it, let us compare the proportions of Naravāhanadatta's story, in the strictly parallel parts of the Kathāsaritsāgara (l. 14) and of the Çlokasaṃgraha (sargs. 12-20), eliminating even all the details peculiar to the Nepalese version. To 570 verses of the Çlokasaṃgraha correspond 130 verses of the Kathāsaritsāgara. One may well suppose that the Çlokasaṃgraha, which is itself an abridgment, reduces the whole narrative by half. Then 130 verses of the Kathāsaritsāgara would be equivalent to about 1140 verses of the Bṛhatkathā, and in that case, the Bṛhatkathā should have contained nearly 200,000 verses. It is evident that the largest part of the Cashmerian version must be eliminated. The main story and the tales which are intimately connected with it, alone, must, on principle, be retained; later on we may be able to make a selection from the matter set aside for the time being.

Must we show ourselves as harsh with the contents of the Çlokasaṃgraha? The question is not so important with regard to the accessory tales, as they are few in number. If we do away with those of Piṅgalikā, of Aṅgiras, and of Amṛtā found in both versions, and the story of Sānudāsa, so closely connected with that of the marriage of Naravāhanadatta with Gandharvadattā that it would be impossible to suppress it without modifying the whole order of that portion of the poem, and the substance of the narration itself, there remain the tales of Manoramā, 5, 176-189; of Viçvabhadra, 5, 204-270; of Trita in the well, 15, 104-148; of Nalinikā, 19, 62-199; of the selfish rat, 20, 357-411; of Dṛḍhodyama, 21, 56-172; of Kundamālikā, 22, 1-312; which give us a total of 851 verses out of 4539. I do not believe that the proportion of the accessory tales contained in the whole Bṛhatkathā was very

much greater. We have already calculated (*vide supra*) that the Çlokasaṃgrahá must have contained at least 25,000 verses; yet Budhasvāmin has suppressed the whole history of Udayana, though the allusions he makes to it in the first sargas, show clearly that it was found in the original. Let us try to form an idea of its length. The figures supplied by the Kathāsaritsāgara show that, in relation to the history of Naravāhanadatta, it was in a proportion of 2 to 5 (*vide supra*). In that case the Çlokasaṃgraha would have contained 35,000 verses, if the story had been part of it. For an abridgment of an original to which tradition assigns, not without some exaggeration it is true, 100,000 verses (*cf.* Guṇāḍhya's legend, Cashmerian version) the figure seems to be very reasonable.

But it is not sufficient that the tales of the Çlokasaṃgraha should be few in number for us to accept them as authentic. Our judgment on them separately must depend on the value we set on the collection taken as a whole.

The comparison between the corresponding passages in the two versions reveals a remarkable concordance in the plan, the subject matter, the name of personages and at the same time a divergence, no less considerable in the details, and altogether absolute in the spirit. If in some cases—for instance in the adventure of Ajināvatī—the divergence can be explained by the fact that the Cashmerian version, being much more condensed, has preserved only the frame work, most of the time the dissemblance is extremely great. The skeleton of the narrative, even many essential details may be identical, but the nature of the personages, their character, their motives in acting, are radically different. Evidently, one of the two versions is inaccurate.

Must we conclude that both are unfaithful, and that the authors, keeping only the frame work, have filled it up according to their individual fancies? I am willing to admit that the Cashmerian compiler on one side, Budhasvāmin on the other, or perhaps even the translator whom he was abridging, have taken liberties with the text, but not that all have, each according to his own fancy, falsified it in the same degree, or that the two versions are equally inaccurate. In that case it would be necessary to suppose besides the two Bṛhatkathās, the existence of a third one, quite different from both, and I do not see what that one could be. On the other hand, if that hypothesis be correct, how could one admit that the Nepalese version throws light, regularly as it does, on the obscurities of the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā, solves its contradictions and explains its improbabilities? We must make a choice, and it is certainly the Çlokasaṃgraha which deserves our confidence.

Here one might be tempted to offer an objection on principle. One might say that the more coherent version is not necessarily the more ancient. It is well known, on the contrary, that in legendary narratives, the more reasonable versions are the more modern ones; an unconscious *évhémérisme*, little by little humanizes the personages of the ancient myths, substitutes for celestial adventures terrestrial ones, imposes on the primitive constructions of popular imagination, at first disorderly, the coherence, the logical sequence, the probability, dear to more mature intellects.

My first reply is that this has not always been true. Some tales—for instance the story of Trita in the well—very probably altogether human and perhaps a little trivial at the beginning with an inevitable portion of fantastic elements, have, in the hands of the Vedic poets, become a theme for mythological divagations. Besides in the present case the objection has no value. We do not ask for the moment, what may have been, at the beginning, the fantastic tales made use of by Guṇāḍhya, but what was the Bṛhatkathā, the work, not of a "seer" of remote ages, not even of a compiler of pious legends, but of a writer who has composed a work purely literary, acknowledged as such by the authors of technical treatises.

The story of Madanamañjukā's marriage supplies us with a most decisive proof of the superior accuracy of the Çlokasaṃgraha. In the Cashmerian version it teems with improbabilities (*vide supra*). The Nepalese version makes them to disappear in the fierce light of its brutal realism. Kaliṅgasenā is a courtesan, of the highest order, no doubt, in the good graces of Queen Padmāvatī who associates herself with her in her machinations, but, after all, of a caste from which the heir to the throne of the Vatsas cannot possibly select his head wife. He is at liberty to take Madanamañjukā as a concubine; his father willingly allows him to do so, but it is out of the question for him to consent to a lawful marriage according to the customary ritual; only to the head wife do the customs of the country reserve a prominent place. The Bṛhatkathā will show Madanamañjukā alone, among all the wives of the hero, crowned with him, and seated by his side on the throne of the Vidyādharas. The pride of the young girl refusing to live in the abased situation of a concubine, her despair in face of the harsh customs to which she is a victim, her willingness to die, willingness which she makes the weak Naravāhanadatta share and which alone, overcoming the king's opposition, will force him to raise her by an arbitrary decree to a higher caste, make of her a personage really human and dramatic, far superior to the very insignificant part of a doll assigned to her in the Cashmerian version. It is clear that the Çlokasaṃgraha reproduces more faithfully the original, whereas the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā has falsified it, for fear that the reader might be shocked at the heroine's low parentage. Hence the impossibility to understand Udayana's attitude. This alone shows beyond doubt on which side there is falsification.

We come to the same conclusion when we study the romance of Kaliṅgasenā and Udayana. The behaviour of Yaugandharāyana, in this affair, is altogether absurd and odious (*vide supra*) if Kaliṅgasenā is a king's daughter; on the other hand, it is altogether reasonable and to a certain extent moral, if Kaliṅgasenā is a gaṇikā. It is obvious that Madanavega has been invented only to spare Madanamañjukā the shame of being born of an unknown father; and that, if the author has borrowed from a Buddhist legend this Kaliṅgadatta, whose edifying story does not fit at all with that of his daughter, it is not to make him play a part in Kaliṅgasenā's adventures, in which he has nothing to do, but to give Kaliṅgasenā a royal origin. In accordance with the character of Udayana's legend, in the text of the Vinaya, which attributes to him wives converts from Buddhism, Kaliṅgasenā has

been supposed to have had Buddhist ancestors. Her name invited one to look for them in the Kaliṅga country, formerly conquered and converted by Açoka, but which has been held in ill repute (*cf.* Baudhāyana, *Sacred Books of the East*, XIV (Bühler), 148). This name in itself has nothing royal, far from it; on the one hand, a *kaliṅgā*, according to Hemacandra (Anekārthasaṃgraha) and the Medinīkoça, is a concubine; on the other, Sāhitya-Darpana (426) tells us that courtesans must have a name ending in *-senā*. * This romance, though missing in the Çlokasaṃgraha, must be a part of an episode of the original Bṛhatkathā, for Budhasvāmin does not introduce Kaliṅgasenā to the reader in the first scene where she appears, which leads us to suppose that this personage was well known. There is no doubt that the episode has been retouched. I may add that the author of the Cashmerian *abridgment* is not the only one responsible for this retouching. The enormous length of the story shows that it is posterior to the first *nucleus* of the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā (*vide supra.*); on the other hand it is probably anterior to the story of Viṣamaçīla (Som. 18 : Kṣ : 10), where we find another Kaliṅgasenā, herself also daughter of the king of Kaliṅga, to whom it looks as if the name and pedigree on the first one has been attributed.

Thus, not only has the abridgment been amplified, but it has been altered in its spirit. The object has been to raise the social condition of the heroes. The remainder supplies us with other indications. Vegavatī has found favour with the Cashmerian retouchers because she is a royal heroine. It is the reason why in her story the two versions are practically alike, except in unimportant details which do not bear on the substance of the narrative. But from the moment when Naravāhanadatta is carried away by her, the divergence becomes very much marked. According to Budhasvāmin, the adventures of the hero take place amidst surroundings *bourgeois* and popular. Campā takes the place of the city of the Gandharvas; Gandharvadattā, in spite of her celestial origin, is the adopted daughter of a merchant. As the remark of Gomukha (*v. s.*) shows, it is to an audience of ordinary people that Naravāhanadatta sings the *nārāyaṇa-stuti*. I do not hesitate to consider the version of Budhasvāmin as the more authentic; Gandharvadattā is a woman's name, and in any case, it cannot be the name of a gandharvī; Sāgaradatta—her father's name according to the Cashmerian version—is the name of a merchant. According to the *technique* of the theatre the names of merchants must end in *-datta*; as for the first part *sāgara* or its synonyms, it is still more generally reserved for them [*cf.* the numerous Sāgaradattas, Samudradattas of the tales—K.S.S., B.K.M., Pañcatantra, Kathākoça (Trad. Tawney)]. The merchants become princes, and as a consequence, the story of Sānudāsa has disappeared; but the retouchers have forgotten to change the names of the personages which makes it easy for us to discover the fraud.

Coming to the adventure of Ajināvatī, we find again an exact correspondence

* *Cf.* also S. Lévi. T. I. p. 128. This rule is generally enough followed; Vasantasenā, in the Mṛcchakaṭikā, and in some other than dramatic work. Citrasenā, in the Vātsyāyana Kāma-Sūtra (p. 154 of the edition *Nirn. Sāg.*).

between the two versions. The Cashmerian *abridgment* does away with a great deal, but does not alter what it keeps: Ajināvatī is a princess. On the contrary, the heroine who succeeds her, Priyadarçanā, is plainly a *bourgeoise*; all the adventures which precede her conquest take place in the commonplace surroundings of Jain merchants; Naravāhanadatta confesses some shame at finding himself in such low society. Feeling it, no doubt, impossible to raise his personages in the social scale, the Cashmerian author suppresses this section completely. Yet, it is certain that a Priyadarçanā played some part in the original history of Naravāhanadatta. Subandhu (Vāsavadattā ed. Hall, p. 236) makes an allusion to Priyadarçanā, the friend of Priyaṅguçyāmā; and we know, through some other passage of the Vāsavadattā, (*ibid*, pp. 87–88) that Priyaṅguçyāmā was the name of one of Naravāhanadatta's wives. However vague that indication may be, it upholds the accuracy of the Çlokasaṃgraha. It proves, in any case, that the Cashmerian version has suppressed whole episodes.

Once we are certain of the carelessness of the retouchers, we are more at ease to insist on the hypothesis, which we could only hint at when studying the formation of the Cashmerian version; most of the episodes in the history of Naravāhanadatta, prior to the marriage of Madanamañjukā and the descent of Vegavatī, are apocryphal. Most of them look as if they had been adapted from authentic episodes by an imitator with a barren imagination. Ratnaprabhā (K.S.S., XXXV) is in a garden under an açoka, like Vegavatī. Her family history is very much like that of Vegavatī's family: Hemaprabha and Alaṃkāraprabhā on the one hand, Vegavat and Pṛthivī on the other, bewail their having no children; both obtain a son and also a daughter, promised by the gods to Naravāhanadatta. Alaṃkāravatī (K.S.S., LI) is brought by her mother to wed the hero, like Ajināvatī. In like manner, her marriage is delayed for a short time; like Ratnaprabhā and Ajināvatī, she takes her husband to the country of the Vidyādharas. The adventure of Çaktiyaças (K.S.S., LIX) is also after the same model. Lastly, Lalitalocanā (K.S.S., LXVIII) carries away Naravāhanadatta to an isolated mountain as does Prabhāvatī. All these episodes are a repetition of each other. On the contrary, we notice in the portions which certainly go back to Guṇāḍhya, a great fertility of invention. Is it too much to suppose that he is not responsible for all those repetitions? In the same proportion as the Cashmerian version reveals itself as open to suspicion, so does the Nepalese version shows itself accurate through many minute details. The Çlokasaṃgraha brings in Kuvera on all the occasions when the Kathāsaritsāgara and the Mañjarī show Çiva's intervention. It is easy to prove, from this very detail, that the Çlokasaṃgraha is the more accurate. Udayana's son is called Naravāhanadatta, "given by Naravāhana"; now Naravāhana is one of Kuvera's names and not of Çiva's. All the versions agree in recording * that Udayana, heart-broken for being childless, at last obtains a son in answer to his pious observances. In honour of which god? Evidently of Kuvera as is shown by the child's name, and this is exactly what we find in the

* K.S.S., XIX, 3—12; XXI, 137—148; B.K.M. 3, 295—297; 4, 41-42; B.K.C.S., V, 1—83.

Çlokasaṃgraha. On the other hand, the Cashmerian versions attribute to a blessing of Çiva alone the birth of "the gift of Kuvera". I may mention also the attribution of the name of Pradyota to Mahāsena, which is more in accordance with the ancient legends, the descent of Udayana to the Nāgas, the walk to the Nāgavana, the dancing of Madanamañjukā in the presence of Naravāhanadatta, Vegavatī making her husband drunk and causing a peacock to dance in the presence of her father, the luxurious appointments of Vīnādatta's house, the gift of a lyre by Bharadvāja to Gandharvadattā's adoptive father (*cf.* on that point K.S.S., CVI, 27 and B. K. M., 13, 75: Naravāhanadatta able to play only on the lyre belonging to Sāgaradatta)—all these details, hardly mentioned in the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā, are developed at length in the Çlokasaṃgraha as is fitting in a version more complete and more accurate.

When there is a concordance between Budhasvāmin and the Cashmerian poets, these latter seem to have abridged Budhasvāmin; when they diverge, internal criticism makes us lean on the side of the Çlokasaṃgraha. Sometimes even external documents lead us to the same conclusion. Here is a very good example:

How a curse fell on Suratamañjarī and on her father.

K.S.S., CXII, 187-197: "There was (*said Utpalahasta*) a chief of the Vidyādharas of the first rank, whose name was Gaurīmuṇḍa. My own name was Matañgadeva and I was his vassal. This maiden Suratamañjarī had just been born to me when Gaurīmuṇḍa took me aside and said: "That son of the king of the Vatsas, whose name is Naravāhanadatta, will become, so say the gods, our Emperor. This is a thorn in our flesh! Go before he has obtained the sovereignty and, through thy magic power, destroy him without delay." As soon as the wicked Gaurīmuṇḍa had entrusted me with that mission, I set out to put it into execution. As I was travelling through the air, Maheçvara (Çiva) appeared before me; on the spot I was cursed by the Lord who was in a fury; "What is this," said he, "wicked man, thou contemplatest a wicked action against a magnanimous hero! My curse is that thou, thy wife and daughter, without changing your bodies, should go and fall at Ujjayinī among the caṇḍālas. When the 18,000 Brahmins of that city partake of food in thy house, thanks to a man who will confer that favour upon thee in order to get thy daughter in marriage, the curse will come to an end, but thou wilt have to give thy daughter in marriage to the man who confers that favour upon thee." He spake and disappeared. I fell down among men of the lowest caste, but I had no intercourse with them; to-day the curse is at an end, thanks to thy son to whom I give in marriage my daughter Suratamañjarī."

B.K.M., 18, 188-190: "My name is (*said Utpaladatta*) Matañgadeva; I am a chief of the Vidyādharas. Formerly I received from Gaurīmuṇḍa the order to kill Naravāhana. I was preparing in secret to do the deed, when the god who carries a boar spear (Çiva) cursed me. I became a caṇḍāla till the day when the Brahmins would meet in my house. To-day, delivered from this curse, I give thy son my daughter Suratamañjarī."

B.K.C.S., III, 49-59: "One day that my father *(said Surasamañjarī to her husband Avantivardhana)* was travelling through the air, his wreath of flowers surrounded by swarms of bees, yellow with pollen, was carried away by the wind. It was the time for evening prayer. Seated on the bank of the Gangā, Nārada was motionless like the trunk of a tree. The wreath, like a serpent in its contortions, made him move; awakened from his meditation, he saw my father. His eyes kindled with fury and in his wrath he exclaimed: "This wreath has become polluted by the contact of a body. Let the one who was wearing it, and who has thrown it at me, become among men a caṇḍāla!" This curse distressed my father who began to implore the holy man: "Please, allow that terrible curse to be somewhat alleviated!" Then, in this conflagration of wrath in which Nārada was, the waters of pity mitigating the violence of the flames, he said to the terrified Utpalahastaka: "The flame of my malediction can no more be contained, even by me, than the arrow by the skilful bowman who has let it fly. Yet independently of our own will, curses may be reduced to nought, for cautious people, when they see the curse flung straight at them, do not take long to evade its effects. Thou also wilt soon evade them. When Gopāla weds thy daughter, thou shalt then be delivered from my harsh curse." Having obtained, along with the curse this favour, we remained under the protection of Thy feet, free from all ills, for a full year, which to us looked like a day and a night. By the favour of the *muni* I have become *the ring which adorns Thy feet*."

This episode has been closely imitated by Daṇḍin in the Daçakumāracarita (1. p. 32 sq. *ed. Nirṇ. S.*). Not only has he reproduced practically in all its details the story of the curse as we read it in the Çlokasaṃgraha, but he has had the strange idea to utilize, taking it in its real sense, the final expression which, of course, is only figurative. I leave the reader to judge for himself.

Prince Rājavāhana has his feet bound by a silver chain. "And forthwith fell from his feet the silver fetters. White as a ray of the moon it was now a heavenly nymph who was flying respectfully round him. She put her hands to her forehead and said, 'Sir, allow thy heart to melt in my favour. I am born of Somaraçmi. My name is Suratamañjarī, the heavenly beauty. One day, in the clouds, the allurements of a lotus attracted to my face a busy flamingo. To drive it away I moved a little, and in so doing broke the thread of my necklace which dropped off. Just then on the Himavat, in a tank nearly dry, the great saint Mārkaṇḍeya was dipping and raising his head. In falling into the tank my pearls, by their fires, doubled the whiteness of his hair. The ascetic startled by this accident, let fall his curse upon me: 'Wicked one,' said he, 'be hereafter like a metal without brains!' Yet, he allowed himself to be somewhat appeased. Bound for two months to the lotus of thy two feet, I shall thus complete the period of expiation and shall not be deprived of my senses! Such was his verdict. Having thus become, on account of a sin which was far from being a petty one, a chain, I was picked up by a descendant of Iksvāku on mount Çaṃkara. He was the grandson of King Vegavat, the son of Mānasavega, Vīraçekhara, a celestial

genius. I became his own *thing*. Now he had, as a family foe, the Emperor of the Genii, the vigorous scion of the King of the Vatsas, Naravāhanadatta, whom he had almost given up the hope of defeating single-handed.' "* How at last she was tied to the feet of Rājavāhana does not concern us here. It is clear that Daṇḍin knew of the Bṛhatkathā and that the text, which he was using, bore a resemblance, even verbal, to that of the Çlokasaṃgraha.

Without giving us an absolute certainty, our observations do certainly inspire us with a large amount of confidence in the accuracy of the Çlokasaṃgraha. I propose then to consider as authentic the plan and the spirit, in which Budhasvāmin has treated his subject, the social condition of the personages, the surroundings amidst which the adventures take place and, as a consequence, to be less suspicious of his accessory tales than of those of the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā. Their character is in perfect harmony with the rest of the narration. For instance, the stories of Dṛḍhodyama and of Kundamālikā are much more appropriate to the subject than those of the two Brahmins in the Cashmerian version, (K.S.S., CIV, B.K.M., 11) though their object seems to be more or less the same, that is, to show that a strong will is able to conquer fate. The theoretical considerations in which they are framed in the Nepalese version are also much more instructive, for they contain—if the word is not too ambitious—the philosophy of the whole work.

But that Budhasvāmin may have innovated a little in the detail of the adventures, and much, if one likes to think so, in the style, is not unlikely, more especially, in the accessory tales, which are of a nature more vague than the frame story itself. It is difficult, as far as they are concerned, to decide with any amount of exactitude, as, most of the time, the material for comparison is lacking. Yet when it is possible, as in the story of Piñgalikā, it is still Budhasvāmin, who seems more worthy of our confidence, the divergences in the Cashmerian version looking as if they were due, as in the frame story, to a wish to raise the social status of the personages and to render their adventures more noble. Still, I am quite prepared to admit that Budhasvāmin may have introduced details of his own. We have already seen that he makes one of his personages mention the name of Guṇāḍhya, and I confess that it is difficult to trace back, as far as Guṇāḍhya, the mention of a tantra like the Mahākālamata (XXI); but I do not believe that Budhasvāmin has deliberately given to the Bṛhatkathā a commonplace, even a vulgar character, which did not exist already in the original. Everything considered, it does not seem to me as if he had altered considerably either the plan or the subject matter.

CHAPTER III

PLAN AND SUBJECT MATTER OF THE BṚHATKATHĀ

The concordance between the Cashmerian *abridgment* and the Çlokasaṃgraha and also between, at least, some parts of the Tamil version, allows us to reconstitute sufficiently, with a minimum of hypothesis, the plan of Guṇāḍhya.

* "Unpublished translation of S. Lévi."

The Introduction (*Kathāmukha*) contained the history of the abdication of Gopāla and Pālaka, preceded, perhaps, by some details of the reign of Pradyota-Mahāsena (The Buddhist legends supply us with many particulars about him); then came the history of Avantivardhana, the whole having for consequence the visit of Naravāhanadatta to the ṛṣis, who put questions to the cakravartin. His answers were to remain secret, for a cakravartin commits a deadly sin and forfeits his throne if he narrates the story of his life: "Several misdeeds of which they themselves have been victims," says the Kathāsaritsāgara (CXIII, 5-8), "have ruined and made to fall from their former splendour the old Emperors of the Vidyādharas, even the Jīmūtavāhana himself. He was king of the Vidyādharas; the ṛṣi Nārada came to ask him the cause of his having been raised to the rank of cakravartin; he recounted to him the gift of the "Tree of Abundance", and that of his own body. It was that revelation of his own merits which made him fall from his rank." The Çlokasaṃgraha tells us that Naravāhanadatta hesitates to speak out: "When questions were put to the king of the Vidyādharas by Kāçyapa, terror dilated the pupils of his eyes and rendered his face colourless. He thought within himself: "What mishap is befalling me? Thus, coming too near the fire through thoughtlessness, who could escape being burnt?"— "This one also was passionately in love; it is also on account of her love that she has carried me away."—"Who then, being in his right senses, would dare relate all that before an assembly of gurus?"—"The foe I killed was a hero, a hero also he who sought my protection."—"What hero would dare relate such tales of heroism before an assembly of heroes?"—"If I refuse to speak out the *muni* will curse me, in the other alternative, I commit a deadly sin! Better then the curse"—(IV, 4-8). He is thus making up his mind to refuse to speak out when Gaurī appears to him and calms his fears:—"Those alone will hear him who have a right to hear, and each one will hear only what he is allowed to hear." The authenticity of this scene is attested, outside the Çlokasaṃgraha, both by what remains of it in the Kathāsaritsāgara and in the *upasaṃhāra* of the Mañjarī, and by the legend of Guṇāḍhya which has its origin in it. The introduction was normally divided into three parts:

1. Kathāmukha: 1. *Gopālasaṃnyāsa.*
   2. *Pālakasaṃnyāsa.*
   3. *Surasamañjarī.*

The Bṛhatkathā, properly speaking, began here and was divided into large sections. They have been called "lambhakas". That this peculiarity, faithfully preserved by the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā, goes much further back is made manifest to us by Subandhu. A passage, which is frequently quoted, from his Vāsavadattā (Hall, pp. 110-116) contains an allusion to the *lambhas* of the Bṛhatkathā:—*asti sudhādhavalair bṛhatkathālambhair* * *iva cālabhañjikopetair vṛttair*

* Hall admits in his text the reading Bṛhatkathārambhair; in his Introduction (p. 20), he adopts the excellent reading—lambhair—or lambhakair, which is given by two good manuscripts, especially F and D.

iva samāṇavakakrīḍitaiḥ kariyūthair iva samuttavaraṇaiḥ sugrīvasainyair iva sagavākṣāir balibhavanair iva sutalasaṃnivecair vecmabhir upacobhitam.. Kusumāpuraṃ nāma nagaram.

Before we explain that allusion, it is advisable to make clear the meaning of the word *lambha, lambhaka.* It is found also in the form, *lambaka.* In the summary (upasaṃhāra) which follows the Mañjarī, in the *lambakasaṃgraha* (No. 2), we read sometimes *lambha, lambhaka* (24, 25, 26), sometimes *lamba, lambaka* (22, 23). The forms *lamba* (*-ka*) and *lambha* (*-ka*) have a tendency to be mixed up.* At first sight, both seem to be equally obscure, yet it is of great interest to be able to clear up their meaning. The terms, used by Hindus, to denote the divisions of books, have not, with the possible exception of the words *sarga* and *adhyāya*, a clear meaning and a general use like our own words *canto*, *book* or *chapter*. The terms employed vary with each work and very often are explained only in that very work : Somadeva calls the sub-divisions of his poem "waves" (*taraṃga*), because his book is an "Ocean"; Kṣemendra in his, speaks of "bunches" (*guccha*), because his book is a "bouquet". Later on, the term, having become famous, together with the work which justified its use, became of current use. Thus the word *taraṃga* has been taken by Kalhaṇa to designate the books of his Rājataraṃgiṇī "River of Kings". When I see the chapters of Harṣacarita called "breathings" (*ucchvāsa*), I note that Bāṇa simply uses a term already used by Daṇḍin in his Daçakumāracarita. When the same Daṇḍin tells us that each chapter of an ākhyāyikā must be called *ucchvāsa*†, must we conclude that the theorists have imposed the term before any author had the idea of using it ? Not at all. The Indian "*Boileaus*" have not acted differently from their French colleagues. It is from written works that they deduce the rule, but they are law-givers, always inclined to go more deeply into details, and not endowed with quite the same philosophical spirit ! A work, which has become famous, is sufficient for them to fix the laws of a special style even in the minutest details. They do not hesitate to open out, as it were, a new rubric in order to take into consideration a trivial divergence. The complexity of this classification is due precisely to this exaggerated scruple, and to their incapacity to leave aside, in the work they study, individual peculiarities, in order to fix their attention only on general characteristics. I feel quite certain that each kind of style mentioned in the Indian "*Arts Poetiques*" is based on typical works, and that the rules laid down are able to give us some information on that very work. Daṇḍin, in the passage already quoted, informs us that the books of a kathā are called lambhaka ; this means that this term was used for the first time in the Kathā *par excellence.* One cannot find it difficult to admit that there are chances of that Kathā being that of Guṇāḍhya.

We must make a choice between the forms *lamba* (*-ka*) and *lambha* (*-ka*). I do not know on what Brockhaus (I, p. VIII) based himself in translating *lambaka* by Woge (eine Woge wie in engl. "a surge"). Considering the ordinary sense of

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* *Cf.* P. W., s. u.

† Kāvyādarça, I, 27.

lamba as an adjective, one might understand by *lambaka* "a long sequel", "a series"; but that meaning is too commonplace to be accepted. It could not contain any allusion to the title or to the subject matter of the poem. What is the good then of using *lambaka* when one has at one's disposal *sarga* or *adhyāya*? I have no use for *lambaka*.

Lambha means "a conquest". The term *rājyalambha* is frequently used and is found several times in the Mahābhārata.. The meaning is the same as that of *lābha*. Let us form an adjective with the suffix -ka: a chapter of a poem could then be called *rājyalambhakanāma sargaḥ*, *vidyālambhakanāma sargaḥ*, and so on. If we suppose a poem in which each book would recount a new conquest of the hero, the word *-lambhaka* would be found in the colophon of each one of them. It is evident that the reader would soon get into the habit, in mentioning them, of omitting the word *sarga* and of speaking of the books by the *lambha*, "the conquest" which is narrated there. This is the explanation we have been in search of; the Bṛhatkathā recounts the successive conquests of Naravāhanadatta. The conquest of his numerous wives, the conquest of his empire—so many conquests, so many chapters. And this is the reason why the pedantic piety of Daṇḍin has condemned all the future kathās to be divided into a certain number of "conquests", though the hero may have conquered nothing. Let us go back now to Subandhu's text.

The term *veçmabhiḥ* is successively compared with *bṛhatkathālambhaiḥ*, *vṛttaiḥ*, *kariyūthaiḥ*, *sugrīvasainyaiḥ* and *balibhavanaiḥ*. Each of these composite adjectives may have a double meaning according as it is connected with *veçmabhiḥ* or with the terms of comparison. The general idea is that the mansions which Kusumapura, boasts of, coated with white stucco, are very fine to look at; each of the adjectives must convey a pleasing idea. The meaning of all is clear except that of *cālabhañjikopetaiḥ*. Applied to houses this expression signifies *adorned with small wooden statues or with cariatides*; but what does it signify when applied to the books of the Bṛhatkathā? The commentators of the Vāsavadattā give us each a different explanation. Çivarāma Tripāṭhin: *cālabhañjikā nāyikāviceṣaḥ*—Jagaddhara: *cālabhañjikā vidyādharī*—Narasimha: *bṛhatkathā pustakabhedaḥ* । *tatra cālabhañjikopākhyānam*.

Hall accepts Çivarāma Tripāṭhin's explanation and translates: "There is a city, known as Kusumapura, embellished with edifices, having, like the sections of the Bṛhatkathā, Çālabhañjikā (name of heroine)." We know now that no heroine in any version of the Bṛhatkathā bears that name.

Mr. Speyer * seems to accept Narasimha's explanation: "There is in the Bṛhatkathā the episode of the *cālabhañjikā*." He does his best to identify that episode. In the book of Viṣamaçīla, in the course of the history of Ṭhiṇṭhākarāla, the audacious player (K.S.S., CXXI, 72 sq.), there is a mention of a celestial

* *Het zoogenaamde groote verhaal, etc., p.* 142.

nymph transformed into a cariatide (*cālabhañjikā*). Possibly Subandhu has that story in his mind. From that hypothesis Mr. Speyer draws a very serious conclusion; he sees in it a proof that the Book of *Viṣamacīla* already belonged to the Bṛhatkathā at the time of Subandhu, and that, consequently, it is very probably authentic; and though he never says so explicitly, I am inclined to believe that the impossibility of considering as very ancient a book whose hero is Vikramāditya, is one of the principal reasons which induce him to place Guṇāḍhya in the fifth century. To me, the proposed identification is very problematic. First of all, the stories of celestial nymphs transformed into material objects – painting, statues, even chains on the feet—are not rare. I have only to recall the story of Manohara and of the yakṣī in the Çlokasaṃgraha (XXI) and that of Suratamañjarī in the Daçakumāracarita. There may have been in the Bṛhatkathā tales of that kind, quite different from that of Ṭhinṭhākarāla. Besides, in the Kathāsaritsāgara and the Mañjarī, not only is that tale outside the main story, but it is intercalated in another one, which itself is outside the story of Viṣamaçīla, which again has nothing to do with the subject matter of the Bṛhatkathā. On the other hand, being of little interest and very commonplace as far as the style goes, the story does not deserve any notoriety. How can we believe that Subandhu, whose other allusion in the same passage bears on subjects known and familiar to the reader, may have had in view, in this one, a very commonplace episode of a tale, almost lost among many others in an accessory part of the Bṛhatkathā? Can one really admit that the episode of "*the cariatide*" may have been famous as "the ornament of the lambhaka of Viṣamaçīla"? In reality, the argumentation of Mr. Speyer is based only on his idea that the Kathāsaritsāgara is a faithful reproduction of the Bṛhatkathā. For myself, I do not believe that this opinion can be held after the proof that has been given of the accuracy of the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathāsaritsāgara.

Besides, the explanation of Mr. Speyer meets with another serious difficulty; the pun on the words is of no value. To have any value it would be necessary that the term *cālabhañjikā*, like the other terms of comparison, should really be of double meaning, but it can mean only *cariatides* and has no figurative meaning.

L. Von Man'kowski* understands by *cālabhañjikā* the heroines who give their names to nine books in Somadeva and in Kṣemendra; the idea would be that they are like statues presiding over each *lambhaka*. No doubt that explanation is very tempting, more so even than L. Von Man'kowski may have believed. If we except the Introduction, the section *Naravāhanadattajanma*, and the books relating to Udayana, all the surely authentic sections, of the Bṛhatkathā, bore the name of a heroine, vidyādharī like Vegavatī, or destined to become vidyādharī like Madanamañjukā. That is the meaning of the commentator Jagaddhara; *cālabhañjikā*= *vidyādharī*, that is, "in the Bṛhatkathā, the *cālabhañjikās* are the *vidyādharīs*". This pun of Subandhu is all the more natural because, as a matter of fact, the

* *Der Auszug aus dem Pañcatantra in Ksh. B.K.M. Einl., p. x.*

cālabhañjikās, which adorned the palaces and temples were images of vidyādharīs, yakṣiṇīs and other female deities as one can see at Barhut and at Sānchi. *

Thus Subandhu not only shows that the appellation *lambhaka* is very ancient, but he confirms us in our opinion that each section of the Bṛhatkathā contained one of the amorous conquests of Naravāhanadatta. This is another blow to the authority of the Cashmerian version.

It goes without saying that the use of the word *lambhaka*, as synonymous of "section", does not go back as far as Guṇāḍhya; it is through a later misuse of the word that the name of *lambhaka* has been applied to the sections narrating the history of Udayana, and that of his son's birth and also to the Introduction. Most probably, Guṇāḍhya was using the old term *kāṇḍa*. Besides, the existence of numerous sub-divisions is attested by the Tamil version, the Çlokasaṃgraha and the Mañjarī.

The sargas of the Nepalese version do not coincide exactly either with all the great divisions or with all the small ones. Yet, we have seen that they are not divided in an arbitrary manner. We must seek for a trace of the larger divisions, (*lambhakas*) in the care Budhasvāmin has taken to group together several sargas under a common title, *Vegavatīlābha*, *Gandharvadattālābha*, etc. Within each section, thus indicated, we can distinguish as many primitive sub-divisions as there are sargas or parts of sargas. For instance, if we accept that idea, the section Gandharvadattā, which comprises three sargas, would have contained at the onset eleven sub-divisions, etc. Similarly, what remains to us of the Çlokasaṃgraha would have been divided into forty-two chapters. This brings us nearer to the figure supplied by the Tamil Bṛhatkathā, if we take into consideration the relative importance of the lengthy episodes. Accordingly, the Bṛhatkathā had many chapters which were relatively short, following thus the old customs which the teaching of the Poetique was to sanction later on. Daṇḍin (Kāvyādarça I, 18) teaches that an epic poem must be divided into sargas of middling length. This is why this kind is called *sargabandha*. Further on, he teaches that the parts of a kathā are called "lambhas", but he does not deny the possibility of sub-divisions and gives us (28) to understand that the general rules given for the *sargabandha* hold good for the *kathā*. The sub-divisions were called *kathā* or *ākhyāna*, if we judge by the colophons of the Çlokasaṃgraha.

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* I wish to put forth another explanation which has occurred to me. I do not believe that it is a true one, but it may lead to some interesting remarks.

In another sense, the word *çālabhañjikā* çālapuṣpabhañjikā (*cf.* Kāç. *ad* Pāṇ., II, 2, 17; III, 3, 109; VI, 2, 74) designate like the words *uddālakapuṣpabhañjikā*, *tālabhañjikā*, *mālabhañjikā*, games peculiar to the people of the East (*prācām krīḍāyām*, Pāṇ., VI, 2, 74). The Çlokasamgraha (V, 156) shows us Udayana playing the *padmabhañjikā* in the fountains of the public garden at Kauçāmbī, called "of the antelope's skins", equipped for that kind of games under the instruction of Çatānīka. The word *padmabhañjikā* is new, but there is no doubt but it has a meaning similar to the other words of the same series. When Narasimha speaks of *çālabhañjikopākhyāna*, it is not impossible that he may have believed in the existence in the Bṛhatkathā of an episode in which the game of the *çālabhañjikā* was described. Guṇāḍhya seems to have taken a delight in describing children's games; the ball (Ç. S., III and VI), drawing the bow (Ç. S., VI), the go-cart (Ç.S., V), making figures with cut-out leaves "pattracchedya" (Ç.S., IX).

It is not easy to determine what Guṇāḍhya had inserted in the first large sections concerning Udayana; that part is missing in the Çlokasaṃgraha and altered in the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā. The Buddhist legends supply an abundance of particulars regarding Udayana, but, most likely, Guṇāḍhya has not made use of all. The first section contained the history of the birth and childhood of Udayana. The Cashmerian *abridgment* has kept that section intact. It has become, in Kṣemendra, the first *guccha* of Book 2 and, in Somadeva, the "taraṃgas" first and second of the same Book. On the other hand, its authenticity is made clear by the allusions made to it in the Çlokasaṃgraha. The name itself is preserved in Kṣemendra, *Sahasrānīka*. Then followed, if we are to believe both the Cashmerian and Tamil Bṛhatkathās, the section of Vāsavadattā or of Ujjayinī, then that of Lāvānakā or of Padmāvatī. But possibly before the two, or after the second, there may have been another section containing accounts of the amours of Udayana with other women, Viracitā, Bandhumatī, Kaliṅgasenā. Lastly, a section commenced with the events preceding the birth of Naravāhanadatta (those are the sargas *Pingalikā* and *Dohadasaṃpādana* of the Çlokasaṃgraha). It ended with the chapter of the birth. Thus we have:

Kāṇḍa II: *Sahasrānīka* (or *Catānīka*?)
,, III: *Vāsavadattā* (or *Ujjayinī*).
,, IV: *Lāvānaka*.
,, V: ? (*Magadha*?)
,, VI: *Naravāhanadattajanma* (three sub-divisions at least.)

Here commenced the history of Madanamañjukā's marriage. That section bore the name of the heroine; the five chapters, of which it is composed in Budhasvāmin, have every chance of reproducing the primitive sub-divisions.

Kāṇḍa VII: *Madanamañjukālambha*.

1. *Yauvarājyābhiṣeka*.
2. *Mṛgayāvihāra*.
3. *Pulinadarcana*.
4. *Rathyāsaṃlāpa*.
5. (*Madanamañjukālambha*.)

We cannot doubt the accuracy of the Çlokasaṃgraha and of the Cashmerian *abridgment* when they connect closely the section of Vegavatī with that of Madanamañjukā. The narration is compact and logical. Madanamañjukā is, to use a term of the theatre, the *nāyikā* of the drama. However unfaithful the hero may show himself later on, it would be shocking, if, as soon as he has been wedded to her, he ran after new loves. Guṇāḍhya has not made that blunder, which might have been attributed to him, if we were to believe the Cashmerian versions, more especially, the Kathāsaritsāgara. The first unfaithfulness of Naravāhanadatta is unvoluntary; Vegavatī causes herself to be loved only by borrowing the features of Madanamañjukā, and the subsequent weaknesses of the hero somewhat find an excuse in the odyssey, which he undertakes in order to win back his first wife. Thus the work had the characteristics of a strong unity; all

the adventures of Naravāhanadatta start from the abduction of Madanamañjukā, and have for final object his reunion with her. Built up in this way the framework is strong, but it would be a vain attempt to search for the exact order of the parts which filled it up. What is certain is that it began with the "conquest" of *Vegavatī* with three principal divisions, as supplied to us by the Çlokasaṃgraha.

Kāṇḍa VIII : *Vegavatīlambha.*

1. *Udyānavicaya.*
2. *Vegavatīdarcana.*
3. (*Vegavatīlambha.*)

Once Naravāhanadatta has come down again to the earth, and been left to himself, his adventures, practically independent one from the other, can form interchangeable blocks. To find out the probable sequence we have no alternative but to trust the Çlokasaṃgraha—corroborated in part by the Cashmerian *abridgment.*

We have then the sections:

Kāṇḍa IX : *Gandharvadattālambha.*
,, X : *Ajināvatīlambha.*
,, XI : *Priyadarcanālambha.*
,, XII : *Bhagīrathayacolambha.*

For the rest, that is at least five-sixths of the whole work, we have nothing remaining but the Books Pañca and Mahābhiṣeka of the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā, and even they are certainly very incomplete. Thus, of the section *Priyaṅgucyāmālambha*, we have only the allusion which Subandhu makes to the heroine Priyaṅguçyāmā! It is therefore useless to attempt to give in detail the proper sequence of the several "lambhakas".

This is to say that we have nothing to modify in our provisional conclusion (II Part, Chapter I, 3) on the authenticity of the matters exclusively proper to the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā. All the conclusions we considered open to suspicion remain so, and we may add that our suspicions have only become stronger. I will make only one other remark. Given the plan of the Bṛhatkathā, it is impossible that the lengthy stories in which Naravāhanadatta does appear, for instance, that of Çaktivega, that of Sūryaprabha, etc., had alone formed themselves a *lambha*, as we see in the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā. They must have been only sub-sections, as the story of Sānudāsa is a sub-division of the *Gandharvadattālambhaka.* It follows that we must either consider them apocryphal, or see in them the most genuine remnants of Guṇāḍhya's Bṛhatkathā; for the enormous dimensions which they have preserved in the Cashmerian collection forbid the hypothesis that they may have been abridged to a great extent. My opinion is that the first alternative is the true one. The arguments which might be adduced in favour of their authenticity come in the long run to two:—allusions in the chapter of the Paiçācī of Hemacandra, and the incontestable literary value of some portions. But we have already seen that, most likely, Hemacandra has drawn his examples from the Cashmerian compilation; as for the second argu-

ment, it is purely sentimental, and even has against it, as far at least as the Sūryaprabha is concerned, the fact that the book is not at all in the ordinary style of Guṇāḍhya.

Perhaps, we might show ourselves more lenient in dealing with the parts of lesser dimensions like the *Journey to the Country of Camphor* and the *Visit to Viṣṇu*, more especially when, beyond doubt, they owe their origin to popular accounts of adventurous voyages. I have explained how they may have been eliminated by the first author of the *abridgment*, and then reintroduced by the subsequent compilators.

I am particularly struck by the fact that Naravāhanadatta knows a mysterious *nārāyaṇastuti*—all the versions agree on that point—like the holy man Nārada in the Mahābhārata. It seems to me impossible that it should not be the same *nārāyaṇastuti* which he sings, according to Kṣemendra and Somadeva, before the Viṣṇu of the White Island. It is a serious presumption in favour of the authenticity of that last episode. The first source is an account, already manipulated in a literary way, as explained before, of travellers who have been present, without understanding anything of it, during the sacrifice performed by a Christian community of the North-West. The date may well go back as far as the beginning of the third century, and consequently nothing prevents us from admitting that Guṇāḍhya, fond of relating extraordinary voyages, may have utilized a contemporary narration, which, later on, the compilers of the Mahābhārata may have made use of. I really believe that, in the Bṛhatkathā, the elimination of all details on the social status, and the worship of the followers of the Viṣṇu of the White Island is due to the retouchers, as well as the invention of the four apsaras given as a present to Naravāhanadatta.

No doubt, we shall be told that our criticism uses too frequently the word "*perhaps*", and that it contains more queries than answers. I beg to be excused, if I am too scrupulous. I think I have a right to hold in suspicion nine-tenths of the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā, and I have said so. I have clearly declared certain parts to be apocryphal, the First Book, the Books of Viṣamaçīla of Padmāvatī, of Pañcatantra, the tales of the Vampire. For the rest, I have always given reasons for my suspicions. It would have been easy for me to affirm where I have only expressed doubt; but my object has been to conceal nothing, whether for or against my thesis. In such matters, I believe that absolute conclusions must be based only on facts. Sentimental reasons, however decisive they may appear, simply help to make a choice between the different hypotheses, but cannot impose that choice without any restriction. I have no doubt as to the plan of the Bṛhatkathā, because there I base my conclusions on positive proofs; but I cannot be so affirmative with regard to the subject matter. The plan of the Bṛhatkathā is not original. It reminds us of the plan of the Rāmāyaṇa. As Rāma sets out, without any other help but that of his brother Lakṣmaṇa, to recover Sītā, and finds allies on the way, so Naravāhanadatta sets forth with Vegavatī, and soon having lost her, but having found again his faithful Gomukha, thanks to his lucky star, he gains for himself valuable

alliances one by one. Their adventures bear no other resemblance to each other; only the beginning and the end are somewhat alike. Rāma sees the end of his trials, and regains his throne the day he finds Sītā, so does Naravāhanadatta obtain together the Empire and Madanamañjukā. As Sītā has preserved herself pure against Rāvaṇa, so Madanamañjukā has resisted all the attempts of her abductor Mānasavega. I have no doubt that Guṇāḍhya has knowingly drawn inspiration from the Rāmāyaṇa. His originality is not in the plan, but in the way he has filled it up. The Rāmāyaṇa is the Epopee of kings and Brahmins; the Bṛhatkathā that of merchants, seafaring men, and artisans. Vālmīki borrows his heroes from national legends and old myths, Guṇāḍhya from local legends, and from accounts of fairy travels to the country of Enchanters, when it is not from his own surroundings. The Supreme God is not Çiva or Viṣṇu, it is Kuvera, king of treasures and patron of merchants. He places on the throne of the Enchanters, in the dignity of the Universal Emperor, a petty prince who had been roaming about the world, and who had not considered it a disgrace to become the chief of a guild in Benares; as for the Sītā of this *bourgeois* Rāma, she was not born in a royal palace, but in the house of a courtesan. It is in all these details that we must look for the real originality of Guṇāḍhya.

CHAPTER IV

SOURCES OF THE BṚHATKATHĀ

THE personages to whom the Legend of the Buddha assigns a part in the history of the Master, have not got the *epic relief* of the Brahmanic heroes. When they are monks their monastic character condemns them to attain pre-eminence only by edifying acts; if they are laymen, they can fill up only secondary parts. Besides, it is very seldom that they are presented as interesting in themselves. It is simply in the interest of the exposition that they are made to come in—when it is necessary to explain under what circumstance such teaching has been delivered or such formality prescribed. Kings and great lay personages are relegated to the second plan, at an enormous distance from the Buddha and even of the holy members of the community. The real heroes of the vast Epopee are the monks; at the *arrière plan* the people, among whom it is of no importance whatever, to make a distinction between kings and merchants, between noble men and çūdras. In fact, the people, if we understand the word in its narrow sense, hardly appear in the legend, though this does not mean that the princes and nobles occupy a prominent place in it; Bimbisāra, though treated with great honour, is not given a more honourable part to play than Anāthapiṇḍika. The favourite personage ordinarily belongs to the middle classes, it is a man well educated, intelligent, having always a great regard for truth, generally a rich merchant; instances are numerous. Often also, those whose intelligence and moral perfections are praised are not, properly speaking, men of low caste, but people out of the ordinary run of life, sons of a servant maid, like the merchant Pūrṇa, or sons of a courtesan like the physician, Jīvaka, abandoned at his birth and picked up on a dunghill. Visibly, the edifying

narratives are not at all for the exclusive use of the superior classes, but are meant for a mixed public, that very public, who enjoys the fables of the Jātaka, which have their origin in a popular stock of stories, adapted without any effort and developed by Buddhism. When kings and princes appear on the scene, their adventures remain in the *ton bourgeois*, and are more suitable to comedy and tales, than to epic poetry. In any case, it should be inconceivable that, in the public admiration, they should be allowed to compete with the monks. This is the reason why the great personages who appear in the Buddhist Legend have not been assigned, in the works of the classical period, a part to be compared with that of the Brahmanical heroes. They have been able to find a place for themselves only in works meant for the monks. We may attribute this to religious reasons, but, no doubt, there were also literary ones, and we can very well admit that those personages could hardly be considered worthy to have a place in epic poetry.

Among those, the best known is Udayana who owes his fame to Guṇāḍhya. To draw from an unexploited store, to surround Udayana and his son with the same lustre, with which epic poetry of former ages had surrounded a Rāma or an Arjuna, to make the narrated events take place in a mixed world of *bourgeois* and *thaumaturges*, according to the favourite formula of Buddhism, *that* was the first originality of Guṇāḍhya, and that very originality was, when Buddhism declined, to be fatal to him. I do not affirm, by any means, that he was himself a Buddhist. He may have been, but his work is far from being sectarian ; its characteristics are secular and independent. In Nepal, the Bṛhatkathā has been considered as Çivaïte, and not Buddhist. Guṇāḍhya is not mentioned in the Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa. The Bṛhatkathā is Buddhist only in a literary sense, in the subject matter, the heroes, their surroundings, and the manner the subject has been dealt with, much more than in the doctrine. No doubt, the Upaniṣads are laughed at, the Çivaïte ascetics (Kāpālikas) behave, without exception, as rascals and drunkards. If a Brahmin appears on the scene, honest people are warned to look after their purse ! The Jaïnas themselves, under an appearance of great austerity, are represented as given up to unbridled sensuality. Those jokes, peculiar to the Çlokasaṃgraha, supposing that Budhasvāmin is not responsible for them, are scattered here and there, and on the whole are of a trifling nature. On the other hand, from Sāgaradatta and Buddhavarman one might come to the conclusion that it is the Buddhist who is a rascal. In short, those were current jokes, and they do not give us a right to see in Guṇāḍhya, beneath the poet, a polemist or a doctor. Yet one thing is certain, namely, that in his work there are traces of a latent and undeniable Buddhism.

No less striking is the local colouring in the Bṛhatkathā. Kauçāmbī, its gardens, its festivals, its streets, its river—the Yamunā full of sandbanks, and crossed in a ferry boat—the wood of the serpents, and the yātrā which takes place every year, everything is described with an original touch. When Guṇāḍhya mentions the Bhadravatī gate or the garden of "antelope skins," and

recounts the legends connected with them, it is easy to believe that he relates local traditions. When he explains through what street the carriage passed that took Gomukha from the royal palace to the house of Kaliñgasenā—a narrow street, then the market place, then a locality full of gardens and villages—the itinerary does not strike one as being fanciful. It is easy for the reader to guess, before the harmless Gomukha does it, to what "temple of wit" he was being driven. Those details of a strictly local interest had every chance of disappearing in the several retouchings and, as a matter of fact, the Çlokasaṃgraha is the only work which has preserved them.

Udayana himself is a local hero. It is with him as with Pradyota, Bimbisāra and Prasenajit. All those are personages belonging to the particular folklore of each city. Their legend has gained a certain amount of universality, though far inferior to that of the epic heroes of Brahmanism, only because it has been utilized in the legend of the Buddha; still it is not specifically Buddhist, and it is very probable that only bit by bit it has found its way in Buddhist * books. When a community became flourishing in a part of the country, its ambition was to invent a legend, to show that the local heroes of each city had been in relation with the Master. It amalgamated the several legends and the Buddha was given a part to play in stories which, at first, had nothing Buddhistic in them. The countries which, beyond doubt, the Buddha had never visited found easy means to satisfy the local vanity by pretending that they had had the Buddha in their midst at least as a Bodhisattva!

When we speak of the Buddhistic sources of the Bṛhatkathā, we do not pretend in any way that Guṇāḍhya has used the legends in the written form in which they have reached us; that is, manipulated for the use of the Faithful alone, but that he has studied them in the original, and in the very places where they had developed themselves. Drawing the first material of his work from the traditions of Kauçāmbī, enriching it with allusions to local events and monuments, Guṇāḍhya has been, to a certain extent, a poet "*de clocher*".

The text tells us repeatedly that each local feast was attended by a great concourse of visitors of every description, pilgrims, merchants—a public composed of ordinary people, whom strolling singers amused with epic accounts, illustrating the glory of the local sanctuary, of the local saint or hero. Patañjali informs us, as we have seen before, how the names of those singers were formed according to the song which was their speciality. I believe that the Bṛhatkathā was composed to be recited or sung before the crowds, which were attracted to Ujjayinī by the feast of the Udakaḍānaka, and to Kauçāmbī by the yātrā of the Nāgavana. It was said that the Udakadānaka had been instituted to appease the waves of Añgāraka: could there be a better occasion to relate—and if need be to amplify—the legend of his descendants, Pradyota, Gopāla, Avantivardhana! At Kauçāmbī, the Nāgavana, at the time of the yearly yātrā, had been the scene of

* *Cf.* Schiefner, *Mahākātjājana und König Tshaṇḍa—Pradjota* (*Mém de l'Ac. Imp. des Sciences, de Saint-Pétersbourg*. VIIe S., t. XXII (1875), No. 7), *Vorwort.*

the first amorous adventures of Naravāhanadatta : could there be a better story, to keep there, a few days longer, for the profit of the priests and of the merchants, the public who had come in crowds to attend that yātrā ? *

Kauçāmbī was outside that part of the country which saw the birth of Buddhism though not very far on the west. The Legend makes the Buddha, on his return from the country of the Mallas, sojourn there in the garden Ghoṣita. In former times monks were found there in great numbers ; Kauçāmbī is mentioned along with Campā, Benares, Rājagṛha, Çrāvastī and Saketa, among the cities where Ānanda asked the Buddha to select the place of his demise, because in them were many of his followers who would look carefully after his obsequies. That shows that very early, even during the life of the Buddha, Buddhism had taken root in that region. Kauçāmbī was on the left bank of the Yamunā, about thirty miles from the confluence of that river with the Ganges, but at some distance from the river itself. One had to pass it, when going from Rājagṛha to Ujjayinī. It is there that Jīvaka returning to the Magadha, after having cured Pradyota of Ujjayinī, was joined by Kāka, who was riding the she-elephant Bhadravatikā. Very early Buddhism followed towards the south-west, in its expansion, the way traced by the caravans, the main road which led from Pāṭalīputra (Patna) to Baharukaccha (Barygaza). The region of which the stūpa of Barhut a little more to the south-west may be considered the centre, was that which, very likely, witnessed a large expansion of the Buddhist Church and its pretension to universality.

It is precisely along that same road that Guṇāḍhya places the several halting places in the career of his heroes, before he endows them with supernatural powers, and sends them to wage war in the mysterious Himālaya: Ujjayinī, Kauçāmbī, Benares, Rājagṛha, and more towards the east, Campā. Those were the places which must have been familiar to his readers, if they had travelled themselves, or at least listened to the accounts of travellers. Guṇāḍhya did not carry his reader all at once into an enchanted world, even when he led the personages of his " Great Story " to other parts of India, to Tāmraliptī, a wealthy city, where, Hiouen-Tsang tells us, abounded merchandises, rare and precious, whence coasters set sail to the Coromandel Coast, where lived the fishers of pearls, to the Pāṇḍya country from where caravans brought bales of cotton. The scene where he places those adventures is not at all devoid of reality. Guṇāḍhya himself must have frequently resorted to the caravansarails he met with along that high way. Even when the places mentioned do not reveal such precise geographical knowledge, they do not appear altogether imaginary, for instance the Land of Gold (Indo-China, if we judge by the direction the sailors follow) and its difficult passes, which one crosses on the back of goats, just as, according to Tavernier, baggage was carried across the passes of the Himālaya.†

* Mr. J. Bédier has in a similar manner explained the origin of the French " Chansons de geste " (*Les légendes épiques, Recherches sur la formation des Chansons de gestes, I).*

† In S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, I, p. 97.

Lastly, when the framework is distinctly a work of imagination, the inventions or borrowings of the author of the Bṛhatkathā are of that kind which pleases childish imaginations, fond of accounts of extraordinary voyages. It is the Çrikuñja, solitary, which lifts its diamond summits in the midst of a lonely sea. It is the Isle of the Forests where King Spring and his son Prince Charming, whose ministers bear the names of shrubs, spend their lives in distilling perfumes.

The Bṛhatkathā addressed itself to a large popular public. It bears deeply the mark of a certain class of hearers, of a particular region of India, and, in the sense we have explained before, of a special religion.

THE LEGEND OF PRADYOTA

At the same time as Buddha, say the Tibetans, were born four sons of kings, who coming into this world illumined the regions of the horizon : * at Çrāvastī, Prasenajit, son of Brahmadatta : at Rājagṛha, Bimbisāra, son of Mahāpadma ; at Ujjayinī, Pradyota, son of Anantanemi ; at Kauçāmbī, Udayana, son of Çatānīka. † The four of them appear as secondary personages in the Legend of the Buddha. Guṇāḍhya has made use of the history of the last two. For the reason I have mentioned above, the Bṛhatkathā must be considered, in that respect, as a source of original information, not so reliable as the others on account of its literary pretensions, yet independent of them all.

In the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā, Pradyota is king of Magadha, and father of Padmāvatī, second wife of Udayana. In the Çlokasaṃgraha, Padmāvatī is repeatedly called the "Magadha woman", but her father's name is not mentioned. The name Pradyota in the Çlokasaṃgraha coupled with the word Mahāsena, is the name of Vāsavadattā's father. It is the Mahāsena of Kṣemendra, the Caṇḍamahāsena of Somadeva. The surname, Mahāsena, is frequently met with. Several kings have borne it. The appellation Pradyota individualises the personage. He is called Caṇḍapradyota (Caṇḍapajjota) in the Aṭṭhakathā of the Dhammapada, in the Pāli Jātaka and in the Kandjur ; Harṣa (Priyadarçikā 5, 11 *Cappeller*) calls him Pradyota as does Budhasvāmin. The epithet caṇḍa (the choleric) added to his name is due to the fierceness of his temper.‡ We read in the Kandjur,§ which agrees with the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya of the Chinese recension.||

"At the time when Çākyamuni attained supreme knowledge the son of king Anantanemi, Pradyota, was anointed king of Ujjayinī. He possessed an elephant, Naḍagiri ; a she-elephant, Bhadravatī ; a camel, Sāgarapāda ; a horse,

* Schiefner *Tibetische Lebensbeschreibung Çākyamunis*, p. 235.

† Çatānīka is the father of Udayana in the B.K.C.S., his grandfather in the K.S.S. and the B.K.M.

‡ In the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā it is Durgā (Caṇḍī) who gave him the name of Caṇḍamahāsena because, in order to curry favour with the goddess, he had cut off and burnt up bits of his own flesh. (K.S.S., XI, 40 ; B.K.M. 2, II, 24.)

§ Schiefner, l. c., 1 sq.

|| The concordance has been brought to my notice by Mr. S. Lévi ; Mr. Sakaki has confirmed it.—*Cf.* also Huber "*Etudes de litterature bouddhique, Les sources du Divyāvadāna, Bul. de l'Ec. franc. d'Ext. Orient (1906, janv.-mars)," p. 24 n, du tir. ă part.*

Celakaṇṭha and a messenger, Kāka. The elephant, Naḍagiri, could run at the rate of 100 yojanas, the camel, Sāgarapāda of 70, the horse, Celakaṇṭha of 50, the messenger, Kāka of 20. As the king was living in great luxury he became subject to sleeplessness, due to the humours in his body not being in proper order. He could not bear any kind of oil, but was addicted to inebriating drinks. So he was not able to drink the oils ordered by his medical advisers, even when extracted from the most excellent substances. As his wives, the princes, the ministers, and the courtiers were advising him to take a remedy of that kind, he got into a still greater rage and threatened that, if any one dared to mention the word *oil* in his hearing, he would have his head cut off. As that state of sleeplessness was continuing, he used to spend the first part of the night with his wives, during the the second part he inspected his elephants and his horses and during the third he would go round and inspect his sentries. If a sentry did not answer the first call he was forgiven, also if he did not answer the second one, but if no answer was given to the third call, the sentry had his head cut off; that is why people got into the habit of calling him—Caṇḍapradyota (Pradyota the choleric).

Pradyota acted on the idea of making his women act as sentries; after a certain time they refused to keep guard any longer; it was not their business, they said, but that of the princes. These passed on that dangerous duty to the ministers, the ministers to the soldiers and these again to the town people, who were forced to keep guard in turn. The turn comes to the son of a grocer, who afraid that he might go to sleep, hires the services of a neighbour, a man from Gandhāra. On the promise of five hundred Kārṣāpaṇas, the Gandhāra man agrees to act as sentry in his place. Before going on duty, he gives a fine treat to the king's servants, and from them obtains useful information about the king's habits. They also promise to wake him up if he falls asleep. They keep their word and at the third call of the king, the man is able to answer."

"Who is on sentry go?"—"I, the Gandhāra."—The king asks: "Gandhāra, what art thou thinking of?" The Gandhāra, who was an acute man and who knew the stories of the world, answered: "I am thinking of what the world thinks." The king asks:—"Gandhāra, what does the world think?"—"Sire, that a living owl, with or without feathers, weighs the same amount, if put in the scale, and this every one considers as wonderful."—"Is it possible?"— "Sire, I will show thee."—The Gandhāra brings an owl, weighs it with the feathers before the king's eyes, weighs it again with feathers plucked. The weight is exactly the same. The king asks the Gandhāra, "How is that?"—"Sire," he replies, "the reason is that the feathers are full of air."—"Gandhāra," says the king, "thou art an acute man!"

Eleven times the Gandhāra mounted guard, eleven times the king obtained from him cunning replies to embarrassing questions *.

* Note the eighth: Why does a man weigh less dead than alive? Because a demon has carried away the vital force.—The same answer is given, but I do not see in what sense, to the ninth question: Why cannot the whole earth, removed when digging a grave, be put back into it?

He then said, "As thou seemest to know everything tell me the cause of my sleeplessness."—"Sire, I will tell thee if thou assurest me of impunity."—"Speak out, I assure thee of impunity."—"Sire, thou wast born of a sin." "Gandhāra, how darest thou to be thus impertinent to me?"—"Sire, do not speak thus, how could I be impertinent to the king. Sire, I am going to show thee that I have said nothing impertinent." "All right, Gandhāra."

The Gandhāra dug out a pit, filled it up with dry cow-dung, prepared a bed and said to the king: "Sire, lie down on that couch to sleep." The king laid down on the couch and at once fell asleep. When he woke up the Gandhāra said to him—"Sire, art thou convinced now?"—The king seeing that the Gandhāra was right, went to the women's apartments, where in answer to his questions, his mother confessed that he had been born of a sin. *

The king thought within himself: "This Gandhāra is a cunning fellow. He knows who I am, but I have pledged my word not to punish him. I cannot either kill him or have him killed. I will make him a present and banish him from the country." He then gave him five hundred kārṣāpaṇas and sent into banishment. An irregular birth, from Singhalese sources, accounts both for his cruelty, and his repugnance for oil. Having preserved, better than the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya, the natural character of the story, they represent Pradyota as having been born of a scorpion. †

The continuation of the narrative in the Kandjur relates the cure of Pradyota by the physician Jīvaka. The story of Jīvaka is well known through the southern traditions,‡ but in the northern accounts it is Pradyota and not Jīvaka, who is the central figure of the story. Schiefner § is of opinion that a Pradyota cycle was formed, in grouping together fragments borrowed from some other stories. Thus from the Jīvaka's story would have been borrowed only the episode of Pradyota's cure.

It agrees with the southern version, but in order to link it with the episode of the Gandhāra, which precedes it, jaundice mentioned in that version has been replaced by sleeplessness. Pradyota makes up his mind to send for Jīvaka, because he understands that his illness has a deep seated cause. The rest does not present any particularity worth noticing, except that Jīvaka running away on Bhadravatikā (Naḍagiri according to Hardy) is overtaken by Kāka mounted on Naḍagiri. This detail sets off better the parallelism of that account with that of Udayana pursued by Gopāla.

Later on, we are told of the origin of the holy man Mahākātyāyana, and how, when an epidemic was raging at Ujjayinī, his presence alone caused the scourge to diminish by half. Pradyota put to the test Brahmins and monks on the question of sensuality. It is an ascetic tournament in which the monks are easy winners. Meanwhile young Keçinī, daughter of a widow whose husband has been

* Some crude and unnecessary details have been left out. (Translator.)

† Hardy, A manual of Buddhism, p. 244.

‡ The account is easily accessible in Kern, Hist. du bouddh. dans l'Inde, I, 122-134.

§ l.c., p. IV.

a friend of Mahākātyāyana, sells her hair to procure for her mother the means to offer hospitality to the holy man and to his five hundred disciples.

The holy man brings that fact to the notice of the king, who weds the maiden under the name of Çāntā. It is she who becomes the adoptive mother of Gopāla, Pradyota's son by the wife of a merchant whom he had seduced.

Follows now a long section which, though at first sight it does not seem to have any connection with the Bṛhatkathā, yet is worth analysing.

Puṣkarasārin, king of Takṣaçilā, is waging war on Pradyota, who is defeated. Whilst his ministers shut themselves up in Ujjayinī, he makes for the hills. A ryot Ghrāṇa gives him hospitality without knowing who he is. Meanwhile Puṣkarasārin is threatened in his own kingdom by the Pāṇḍavas. After several incidents he raises the siege and returns to Takṣaçilā. Pradyota himself returns to Ujjayinī, after having invited his host and his wife to pay him a visit. They will have only to ask, at the gate of the city, for Bahvaçva. The time of a great festival, probably the *udakadānaka*, makes travellers crowd into the city. The ryot's wife is anxious to see the feast—splendid opportunity to pay the promised visit to Bahvaçva. The guard at the gate, from whom they inquire for the house of their friend, takes them to the Palace. Pradyota welcomes them with great magnificence, and, as he has had an occasion to appreciate the determined character of Ghrāṇa, he keeps him as his minister, under the name of Bharata. It is not without great difficulties, that the new dignitary is able to overcome the jealousy of his colleagues and the public malignity which cannot forgive him his sudden elevation, but his cunning, his perseverance and the favour of Pradyota, who goes so far as to wash his feet in the presence of his courtiers, end by strengthening his authority.

King Pradyota was of a very licentious temperament. One day he hears of the beautiful courtesan Bhadrikā; in the evening he goes to her house, offers her five hundred kārṣāpaṇas. He is made welcome. The courtesan orders one of her maids to look after him. Thereupon arrives another visitor. In those circumstances the courtesan used to get the first one murdered in order not to lose the benefit of the second. The servant maid is moved with pity for the king, who is so young and so handsome. She is in tears. The king questions her. She reveals the danger. There is no way to escape as the house has only one door, and the executioners guard it. In spite of all those precautions, the king makes good his escape through a cesspool. While he is in the act of escaping a neighbour, skilful in the art of divination, is reading in the stars that the king is in danger, and then out of it, and is communicating his observations to his wife. The king hears him. On his return to the palace Pradyota summons all the soothsayers. "What has happened to me during the night?" he asks. They all reply: "What must happen to a king who has been anointed with the sacred rites and who rules in conformity with the law." Pradyota then sends for the Brahmin who replies without any fear according to the truth. Pradyota gives him then all the presents he may desire and appoints him his chaplain.

Another amorous adventure of the king which is of less interest.—Bharata, having defeated the Pāṇḍavas, brings back hostages, amongst whom a young girl covered with ulcers, at whose sight Pradyota manifests his horror. Bharata attends to her, cures her and adopts her for his daughter giving her the name of Tārā. He succeeds so well that the king seeing her beautifully decked out, playing a ball game, falls in love with her, submits himself to all her fancies, goes so far as to carry her on his back as if he were a horse. Meanwhile the purohita recites formulas and a musician plays on a lute.

We need not be detained by the quarrels between Bharata and the chaplain. We come now to a section in which Gopāla appears on the scene. His father has entrusted him for a week with the kingly functions *ad interim*. The young man shows a scandalous indulgence for those guilty of adultery. The King wishes to put his son to the test; he manages that his daughter-in-law should misbehave herself with a merchant, but Gopāla cannot be jealous as he remembers his anterior existence. She was then married to a chief of caravans. Not satisfied with making free with the five hundred brigands, who had assassinated her husband, she caused through jealousy all the women, who were sharing her captivity to be thrown into a well, where they perished.

This story related by Gopāla and a new experience made by Pradyota of the frailty of feminine virtue, give him food for reflection. How could he keep in his harem so many women when a hunter has not been able to keep only one in the heart of the forest? He then gives all his women leave to roam at night at their sweet will, till they hear the sound of the drum. All avail themselves of that permission except Çāntā.

"When Udayana, King of Kauçāmbī, had heard of the permission given by Caṇḍapradyota, he said to Yaugandhara: "The King Caṇḍapradyota has given leave to the women of his court to be out at night. I am going to see how that works." "King Caṇḍapradyota" replied Yaugandhara, "has been for a long time thy adversary and mortal enemy. If thou goest to Ujjayinī and meetest him, there might be danger for thee." The king replied, "Among men there are some who can boast of daring. I will go. *Thou* canst remain here."—"If the king is so anxious and if he knows no fear, let him go but it is natural for me to feel some apprehension."—King Udayana, being very licentious, did not heed the words of Yaugandhara but set out for Ujjayinī.* There, Tārā, the young Pāṇḍavī, saw him but was well able to look after herself. At the sound of the drum she went away after informing him of the ordinance of the king, but before going she managed to steal Udayana's ring.

The ring reveals to Pradyota the audacity of Udayana. Bharata undertakes to settle the business. Meanwhile Udayana, who has returned to Kauçāmbī, resolves to make a new attempt, but this time Yaugandhara accompanies him. They put up in a house which Bharata, who has heard of the adventure, causes to be surrounded. The cunning Yaugandhara disguises Udayana into a servant

* Some more crude details have been left out. (Translator.)

maid. He makes good his escape. Pradyota who can do nothing against Yaugandhara, who after all has done only his duty as a good servant, turns against the clumsy Bharata and threatens him with death, if he does not capture Udayana. Bharata causes a notice to be issued to the effect that the elephant, Naḍagiri, has run away. Meanwhile some artisans have fashioned a huge mechanical elephant capable of hiding five hundred men in its inside. Bharata takes automaton to Kauçāmbī. Udayana under the impression that the animal is Naḍagiri, comes with an army to capture it. The elephant runs away. Then, just in time, it is remembered that Udayana knows some secrets to tame elephants. The army is sent away and the king alone approaches the animal in playing on a lute. He is captured and taken prisoner to Ujjayinī.

Pradyota orders Bharata to put him to death. The minister replies: "Sire, the king knows the art of taming elephants; if we kill him, the art disappears. Let him first teach that art to some one and we shall then put thy order into execution." The king replied: "If it is so, Bharata, let him teach thee that wonderful art." "In that case," said Bharata, "he will become my master and I cannot become the murderer of my master."

Bharata suggests that Udayana should teach Pradyota's daughter, Vāsavadattā. The master and the pupil are separated by a curtain; they must not see each other as the sight of the prisoner, she has been told, would be mortal for her. Yaugandhara is becoming anxious. Is the king still alive? He sends his sister, Kāñcanamālā, for information. Under the disguise of a beggar woman, Kāñcanamālā succeeds in entering Ujjayinī, hears that the king is not dead, but that he is teaching Vāsavadattā the art of taming elephants. By some means or other she contrives to see the king and his pupil. She reveals to the pupil the identity of the master. Vāsavadattā draws up the curtain and falls in love with him. Kāñcanamālā manages a meeting between them; both are in love with each other, and Yaugandhara, apprized of the fact, comes to Ujjayinī, under the name of Vasantaka, and plays the part of a mad man. Vāsavadattā opens her heart to Udayana expressing the wish to elope together. On the advice of Udayana, she informs her father that she knows the theory of managing elephants, what she needs is a few practical lessons. She obtains permission to go for rides with Udayana, both mounted on Bhadravatī. They get into the habit of going out and coming in at all hours. Meanwhile they avail themselves of that freedom to arrange with Yaugandhara a plan of escape. The minister, thanks to his simulated madness, is able to procure, without awaking suspicion, some elephant excrements, which he deposits in two places on the road to Kauçāmbī. When everything is ready, Udayana and Vāsavadattā, accompanied by Yaugandhara and his sister, mount Bhadravatī and escape together. In the evening Pradyota, not seeing his daughter return, begins to feel anxious. Bharata discovers the plot and starts in pursuit of the fugitives, mounted on Naḍagiri. The elephant loses time in smelling the excrements that have been left on the road, so that, when it reaches the frontier of the country, Bhadravatī has already crossed it. Udayana,

having attained his object, reveals his cruel nature. He is impatient to be revenged on Pradyota, and he will have no peace till he has him as his prisoner, and is able to force him to learn the trade of a weaver. Vāsavadattā, becoming acquainted with his intention, loses her regard for him. Yaugandhara sets out for Ujjayinī under the disguise of a chief of caravan and making use of Pradyota's licentious temperament, makes him fall into an ambush. Now, Pradyota is a prisoner in his turn, taken to Kauçāmbī and reduced to the condition of a weaver. Udayana is cruel enough to show him to Vāsavadattā, when he is leaving the weaving room. She says not a word, but swears to herself to avenge her father. She contrives to have him set at liberty and taken him back to Ujjayinī. She then devises an atrocious revenge. She pushes Udayana into a deep pit where he is devoured by ferocious dogs. The ministers have her punished by burning her alive.

The rest of Pradyota's history, in the Kandjur, has characteristics more clearly Buddhist. It needs not detain us long, as it has fewer points of contact with the Bṛhatkathā. Pradyota causes five hundred witches and eighty thousand Brahmins to be put to death. He had a dream which lying Brahmins interpret against him, but which is interpreted in his favour by the holy man Mahākātyāyana. That makes him heap favours on the Buddhist church. The last episode completes, one might say, his moral transformation. He has a quarrel with Çāntā. She flings a plate at his head, and cuts his head open. He fears for his life and orders the guilty wife to be put to death. Bharata is too cunning to put that order into execution. He simply hides the queen away. Soon, the wrath of the king is appeased, and he asks for his favourite wife. This is the occasion of a long and moving dialogue between himself and Bharata. At the end, Pradyota is appeased, becomes considerate, wise and good. He is too happy to hear that Çāntā is alive, and to be able to forgive her. He does not deserve any longer the name of Caṇḍapradyota !

There is no doubt that a pious hand has manipulated that story. The moral effect of the successive adventures has been graduated with great skill. Pradyota was sensual and choleric. The first episode shows him to us under the traits of an abominable tyrant. Little by little, I will not say that his soul becomes purer, but he becomes, with each new adventure, less unjust and above all, he understands better the vanity of sensual objects. He is, in fine, more able to understand the Buddhist law. The atrocities of the beginning are wiped out by the clemency of the end. In other works the picture of Pradyota's character is very much less flattered. In the Aṭṭhakathā of the Dhammapada he is represented only as cunning, cruel and even ridiculous. Whereas here he has at least an apparent grievance against Udayana, in the Pāli text no other motive is given for his perfidy than jealousy against a powerful neighbour. Similarly, in the story (Southern) of Jīvaka he is only a wicked man. It is a pleasure for all when one is able to make a fool of him. Elsewhere, when allusion to him is not limited to the simple mention of his existence (as is the case in the Jātaka : 522 (F., V, 133, 15), 423 (F., III, 463, 13) under the name of Pajaka), it is always the traits

of his violent and cruel nature on which the author delights to throw light. If at any time he shows signs of amendment, it is only through fear, not because his mind is any better, but because he has found somebody stronger than he. Always at war with his neighbours, he arms himself against Ajātasattu, king of Magadha (*cf.* Gopakamoggallāna Suttanta of the Majjhima Nikāya), against the king of Suvīra, Udāyin or Udayana (?).* He orders Çaraṇa, the son of latter, to be whipped most cruelly because, after having become a monk under Kātyāyana, he has found his way into the palace court yard in order to preach to the women and who has not shown himself in the king's opinion as endowed with a sufficient degree of perfection. Çaraṇa is thinking of asking his father to send an army to chastise the tyrant. Pradyota, having learnt the status of his victim, humbles himself in a degrading manner before Çaraṇa and invites the monks to be his guests for seven days. On another occasion, he causes a whole village of Caṇḍālas, to be burnt including the women and children because some Caṇḍālas had stolen some mangoes from his park. On account of that crime, a young Caṇḍāla foretells his death within seven days. It is fortunate for Pradyota that the young man is converted just in time by Kātyāyana and cancels the curse. The king humbles himself and, to obtain forgiveness, he offers to receive the Buddha as a guest for a whole week.† It seems worth noticing that his favourite elephant, Naḍagiri, has given its name to the wicked beast whom Devadatta causes to be pushed on the Buddha to crush him? ‡

On the contrary, in the text of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins the story is on the whole to the credit of Pradyota. In it, he is incontestably the sympathetic personage. Where can that legend have been written in that form, if not where Pradyota was a national hero, to whom an honourable place had to be found in the cycle of pious stories: that is at Ujjayinī? On the other hand, Udayana, the fascinating hero of romance, is very badly treated. His behaviour is that of a poor wretch. His end is atrocious; he has deserved it by a crime committed in an anterior existence. When he was a Brahmin and Purohita, in a village of the mountain, he had let loose his dogs on a pratyekabuddha who had come to collect alms. He is condemned to spend five hundred successive existences under the teeth of dogs. It is the old hatred of Ujjayinī against Kauçāmbī, which inspires the author. Pradyota's legend bears the mark of the local patriotism. If it has been certainly *manipulated* to figure in the Vinaya of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins, it has not been invented in a block for the circumstance, neither has it been compiled, as holds Schiefner, by the use at random, of all the details concerning

* L. Feer, Karma-çataka (89, VII, 7), *Journal As.*, IXe. S. 17 (1901), p. 439. The Karma-çataka calls Char-Ka (Udayana ?) king of the Vatsas 6,-I, 6 (Feer, l.c., p. 70) and king of Suvira 62,-V. 3 (F. l. c., p. 300) and 89, VII, 7 (F. l. c., p. 439). Udayana (Udena), king of Suvīra, is not the same as the king of the Vatsas; V. Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mahārāshṭrī*, III, p. 28.

† L. Feer, l.c. (62. V. 3), p. 300 sq.

‡ Hardy, *Man. of B.*, 321; Dhammapada (Fausböll), p. 144; Jātaka 222 (F., II, 199), 329 (F., III, 97), 358 (F., III, 178), 416 (F., III, 415), 438 (F., III, 536), 533 (F., V, 333).

Pradyota, which were found in various stories. Prior to the use that has been made of it in the Vinaya, it seems to me that there existed at Ujjayinī a cycle of old stories about a local hero, Pradyota, probably already grouped together in a composition more or less literary.

As I am concerned here not with the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins but only with Guṇāḍhya, I will only suggest the hypothesis that that sect may have had special connections with Ujjayinī, if it had not originated there. In any case the Vinaya, composed, as we have already seen, in Sanskrit, and certainly going back to the fourth century of our era,* has made use of the local version of the Pradyota's legend. It is difficult to admit that Guṇāḍhya had under his eyes the very text of the Vinaya, which is not, beyond doubt, anterior to the Bṛhatkathā, but I am inclined to believe that he has made use of the same version used by the authors of the Vinaya. We shall see later on that many details about the Pradyota of Guṇāḍhya are identical with those of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins' Pradyota. This question we can discuss only after having studied the legend of Udayana.

THE LEGEND OF UDAYANA

Nowhere do we find a Udayana cycle, grouped in a manner comparable to that of Pradyota, but, if we except the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins—Vinaya, Pradyota always plays a secondary part in all the stories, in which he is not the central figure, whereas Udayana is most of the time the principal personage. Very likely, it is because, among all princes mentioned as contemporaries of the Buddha, he enjoyed, above all others, a reputation universally established, that he has been represented as receiving from the Master himself lessons on kingly duties. A Nītiçāstra† is supposed to have been addressed to him by the Buddha.

Udayana is meditating in solitude, trying to find out in what consist the merit, and the demerit of kings. "If there were here," says he to himself, "some çramaṇa, perfect in his conduct, he might give me some information on that point." He then thinks of the Buddha who knows everything, goes to him, does homage to him and asks him the question. The Buddha expounds to him the ten merits and the ten demerits of kings—the five ways, which lead royal families to ruin, the five qualities, which make them prosperous, and at last the five means to acquire those qualities; in conclusion he promises him the protection of all the Buddhas and all the Bodhisattvas, the Devas and the Nāgas, if he follows those precepts. Udayana agrees.

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* *Cf.* S. Lévi, *Les elements de formation du Divyāvadāna*, T'oung Pao (1907), p. 121. *A compilation of the Vinaya of the Mūla-Sarvāstivād seems to have received its final form only after the third century, possibly in Nepal*, in any case in localities in the vicinity of the *Himalaya regions*.

† Bunyu Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, 1006 : Sūtra addressed by the Buddha to King Udayana on the law of kings and councils for administration. Translated by Amogha-Vajra, A.D. 746-771. As I am unable, not knowing the language, to read the Chinese version I am indebted for the detailed analysis of this text as well as of the other text of the Chinese translation which will be quoted later on, and which have never been translated into any European language, to the courtesy of Mr. M. R. Sakaki.

In all this, there is nothing different from what we can read in any çāstra on the same subject, nothing even particularly Buddhist. Naturally, the Buddha insists on the performance of religious duties. Yet, he expresses himself altogether as a politician. About Udayana, that text gives us no information, but it is worth noticing that it shows that in a Buddhist country the name of Udayana came naturally to the mind when it was a question of inserting, in the legendary cycle, a treatise on politics. To show Udayana being instructed by the Buddha was as natural as it would have been for a Greek to show Ulysses instructed by Pallas Athene.

Besides that *Nīticāstra*, another text of the Chinese Tripiṭaka displays, in its title, the name of Udayana. There is in fact a Udayana vatsarāja-paripṛcchā. The framework is an episode detached from the Mākandikāvadāna. We shall study it later on.

A detailed story, in which Udayana plays a part, is found in the Divyāvadāna, XXXVI, corresponding to the Chinese Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya (ed. of Tōkyō) XVI, 9, p. 103 col. 13—p. 190.* But it is in the Aṭṭhakathā of the Dhammapada that we find more ample details on Udayana. Whereas the Divyāvadāna gives us no information on Vāsavadattā, a fact which is not surprising, considering the fragmentary character of that compilation, and that the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya gives the history of Vāsavadattā, as an episode of Pradyota's history as we have seen above, Buddhaghoṣa incorporates that story in the story of Udayana. I see in this a sign of a desire to form a Udayana cycle. This desire I see also in the care Buddhaghoṣa takes to put at the head of his narrative, the account of Udayana's birth, as if his intention were to give us, in a chronological order, the whole of the life of the king of the Vatsas.

I begin then with the Aṭṭhakathā of the Dhammapada (ad 21-23). I use the edition of Fausböll, and, for particulars which he has suppressed, the Singhalese edition (of Guṇaratana, *Colombo* 1886).†

The king of Kosambī, Parantapa, is seated on the terrace of his palace, with the queen, who is pregnant, to bask in the rays of the rising sun. The queen is wrapped in a precious red shawl, which the king uses as a mantle. She is conversing with her husband and in play, she removes his ring which bears the royal seal and puts it on her own finger. "At that moment a vulture, *hatthiliṅga*, was flying throughout the space above. From a distance, he sees the queen wrapped up in that red stuff, and thinks that it is a heap of raw meat. He folds up his wings and lets himself fall to the ground. The king frightened by the noise gets up and takes refuge in his apartments. The queen, on account of her state of health, and also of the timidity of her nature, is not quick enough in escaping. The bird pounces upon her, seizes her in his claws and flies up again in the air, as quick as lightning.

* *Cf.* S. Lévi, T'oung Pao (1907), p. 109.

† Mrs. Mabel Bode has been so kind as to write a copy for me of the passages referred to in the Singhalese edition, and also to compare the text of Fausböll with that edition, which in some passages is more complete.

Those birds "as strong as five elephants" usually carry their prey to their aeries where they eat it at leisure. Whilst being carried off, the queen thinks within herself that, if she cries out, the bird will be startled, as all animals fear the human voice, and will let her drop; better then wait.

The vulture carries her to a remote place on Mount Himavat, to a fig-tree and leaves her between two of the branches. When the bird is examining his surroundings, before beginning his meal, she claps her hands and shouts out. The bird frightened, flies away. It is a stormy night which the queen, half heart-broken, spends without a wink of sleep. In the early morning, the clouds clear up and at the same moment as dawn appears, the queen is delivered. As her son has been born during a storm, at dawn, and on a mountain,* she gives him the name of Udena. It happened that near by lived king Allakappa, who had become a hermit. He finds her, has pity on her, makes her come down from the tree with her son, without touching her. He takes her to his hermitage and gives her to eat. Meanwhile she ponders over the matter; if she were to leave him she would perish with her child, as she does not know by what way she came or how she could return to her own country. There is only one way to get out of the difficulty, to seduce him. She succeeds and they live together happily.

One day the hermit, observing the stars, exclaims "King Parantapa is dead!" The queen begins to cry.—What is it?—She reveals that Parantapa was her husband. "Whatever is born is mortal" says the hermit, by way of consolation.—It is for her son that she is crying. He will not inherit the kingdom. "I will give him the means to do it," says the hermit. He gives the child a lute and teaches him a formula wherewith to tame elephants. Three days' practice are sufficient to show that he is sure of success as soon as he may try. On the third day, the head elephant comes and kneels before him.†

The hermit invites the mother to give her instructions to her son, who must leave the hermitage only to become king. The mother informs Udena that he is the son of the king of Kosambī—, Parantapa; she tells him the names of his father's ministers, and she gives him, to prove his identity, the red mantle, and the royal signet. Udena sits on a low branch of a tree and recites the magic formula. The head elephant comes and kneels in front of him. He mounts him and whispers in his ears, who he is and what he desires. The elephant gives a call: the other elephants answer it by the thousand. The chief sends away the old and young ones and keeps only those who are fit for battle. Udena escorted by that imposing army, enters his kingdom and claims a battle or the throne. "No," say the people, "we cannot do either as long as we do not know whether our queen who, years ago, was carried off by a vulture, during her pregnancy, is alive or dead." Udena gives the name of the ministers, shows the red mantle and the signet. The gates of the city are thrown open to him, and he is crowned as king.

We find the same story, though very much condensed, in the Papañcasūdanī

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* Pabbatautuñ ca *ed. of Colombo et Papañcasūdanī*, v. infra.

† According to the text of the Colombo edition.

(Majjhimanikāya-aṭṭhakathā), at the Bodhirājakumārasutta ; it is followed immediately by the mention, in a few lines, of the capture of Udena by Caṇḍapajjota, of the lessons given to the daughter of the latter, and of the flight of the wooers.*

I will not analyse the story which follows in the Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā, that of the merchant Ghosaka during his second existence, and which we find again in the Manoratha-Pūraṇī (p. 251 ed. of Colombo, 1893). It has been translated and published in the two versions by Mr. Hardy *(Journal of the R.A.S. Oct. 1898)*. Udena, there, plays only a very secondary part. He appears in the story, simply to hand over to Ghosaka the succession of his father.

We pass on to the story of Sāmavatī, daughter of a merchant of Bhaddavatī, who was on friendly terms with Ghosita (the Ghosaka of the preceding story). She has come to Kosambī, with her parents, to escape an epidemic which was raging in her native town. They suffer a great deal from hunger on the way, and beg for food at the gates of the city. The father and mother die before meeting Ghosita. After many hardships Sāmavatī is taken into his house by Ghosita, the generous merchant who adopts her. One day Udena sees her, falls in love with her, and orders Ghosita to give her up to him. The merchant refuses to comply with the king's wishes. Enraged, Udena turns Ghosita out of his own house. Then Sāmavatī begs her adopted father to give in to the king's desire, on condition that she will be treated honourably, and will have waiting maids of her own. The king consents, weds her and houses her and her maids in the palace of his lawful wives.

Udena had another wife, called Vāsuladattā, daughter of Caṇḍapajjota, king of Ujjenī. This king, jealous of Udena, contrives the trick of the mechanical elephant and captures his enemy. He throws him into prison and, overjoyed at his success, gives himself up to debauch for three days. Udena, informed by a guard, severely reproaches Pajjota with his conduct. Goaded by those reproaches, Pajjota demands that his prisoner should reveal to him the secret formula whereby to tame elephants. Udena refuses to reveal it, unless homage be done to him. Too proud to consent to that humiliation, Pajjota conceives the idea of giving his daughter as a pupil to Udena. "I have in my house," he says, "a girl who is hunchbacked. She will stand behind a curtain and thou in front and thou shalt teach her the formula." Udena accepts. Pajjota tells Vāsuladattā that she is going to be taught by a leper who will be hidden behind a curtain. The lessons commence, the pupil is very dull, and the teacher becomes impatient. In a fit of impatience he calls out "Hunchbacked girl!" Furious, she replies, "Leper!" Puzzled, he lifts up a corner of the curtain ; both are very much surprised! Explanations follow. The trick, invented by Pajjota to prevent them from seeing each other, results in their becoming friends. They are now very anxious to make the lessons last as long as possible. After some time, Udena persuades Vāsuladattā to elope with him, promising that he will make her his lawful wife, and that she

* I am indebted for the copy of this text to Mrs. Bode who has made it for me on a transcription kindly lent by Mr. Rhys Davids.

will rule over a numerous harem. Meanwhile, she deceives her father into the belief that she is making great progress, and obtains from him permission to go out at night through a certain door, under the pretext of collecting, at the hour indicated by the stars, a magic herb which is necessary, in order that the famous for mula may have its effect. People get used to seeing them pass together through that door. Pajjota possessed a she-elephant, Bhaddavatī, who covered over 50 yojanaṣ in a day, a runner, Kāka, who covered 60, two horses Ceḷakaṇṭhi and Muñjakesi, who covered 100, an elephant, Nālāgiri, able to cover 120. In this connection follows a story "*Once upon a time*" without any interest for us here. One day, Pajjota had gone to amuse himself in his garden. Udena comes to the conclusion that the moment is favourable. He fills up with gold some leather bottles, puts them on Bhaddavatī, mounts the beast with Vāsuladattā, and both make off. Pajjota, informed by the guard of the harem, sends an army in pursuit. Udena seeing them approaching, burst open one of the bottles; the soldiers tarry to pick up the gold; the repetition of that trick allows the fugitives to reach the frontier. Udena, on his return to Kosambī, weds Vāsuladattā and makes her one of his lawful wives. Udena had another wife called Māgandiyā. Her history is intimately connected with that of Sāmavatī, which is itself, in a way, a part of the history of the merchant Ghoṣita, but it has nothing to do with that of Vāsuladattā, which, inserted between the two, has broken up the sequence of the narrative.

Māgandiyā is the daughter of the Brahmin Māgandiya. Her parents offer her in marriage to the Buddha, who declines. Thereupon Māgandiya and his wife, having joined the confraternity, hand over the young girl to her uncle, called also Māgandiya (Māgandika). This one, thinking that she is fit to be wedded by Udena, takes her to Kosambī. Udena sees her, falls in love with her, places her among his lawful wives and gives her five hundred waiting maids as he had done for Sāmavatī and Vāsuladattā. It so happened that there were three merchants, Ghoṣita, Kukkuṭa and Pāvāriya who had each built a vihara for the Buddha, the Ghoṣītārāma, the Kukkuṭārāma and the Pāvārikārāma. At their invitation the Buddha came to reside there, being the guest of each in turn.

A florist Sumana, servant of the three merchants, obtains the favour that the Buddha should come to dine at his place. This gives one of the maids of Sāmavatī, Khujjuttarā, who comes every day to Sumana's shop to buy flowers for her mistress, the occasion to hear the Buddha's preaching and to obtain as a reward, the state of *sotāpatti*. On her return home, she preaches the good tidings to the five hundred maids of Sāmavatī, who asks her to go again to hear the Buddha in order to repeat his teaching to them. Then they become very anxious to see the Buddha himself. By making an opening in the wall of the inner chamber, they succeed in having a peep at him, while he is going with his disciples to the three merchants' houses. Māgandiyā has become aware of the fact. As she is anxious of having her revenge on the Buddha, she betrays Sāmavatī to the king and does her utmost to inspire him with fear as to his own security. Udena contents himself with

having all the openings of the chambers walled up. The room will then have openings only in the ceiling. Māgandiyā urges men to insult the Buddha when he is passing in the streets. Ānanda advises his master to leave the city, but he refuses.

"What wile can I invent," says Māgandiyā to herself? She causes some fowls to be brought alive to Sāmavatī, which she must prepare for the king's dinner. Sāmavatī cannot possibly do it as her faith forbids murder, but those same fowls, which Māgandiyā is careful to have killed beforehand, she is willing to prepare for the Buddha. Again Udena refuses to get angry. Another wile; Māgandiyā introduces a serpent in the vina which Udena uses to charm the elephants, and which never leaves him. The king visits his wives in turn. It is Sāmavatī's turn. Māgandiyā endeavours to keep Udena back. She has had, she says, a bad dream. As he does not take any notice, she insists on accompanying him and then makes the serpent come out of the vina into Udena's bed. This is really the dangerous adventure foretold by the dream. This time Udena, convinced that Sāmavatī is seeking his life, gets hold of his bow with the intention of slaying the guilty one. In vain does he aim several times at Sāmavatī's breast, the arrow always returns to the bow. A senseless object, an arrow, thinks Udena, knows the virtue of Sāmavatī and I would not recognize it! He throws the bow on the ground and falls at the feet of Sāmavatī, imploring her protection. "It is the Buddha who is the refuge," says she, and then she persuades Udena without any difficulty to ask the Buddha, with his five hundred monks, to come and preach in his house. The Buddha sends Ānanda with five hundred monks—Gifts of garments from the king.

Māgandiyā is bent on putting an end to all this. At her instigation, her uncle finds his way into Sāmavatī's house, shuts up the women in their apartments, gets the oil and the cloths from the cabinets in which they were kept, and sets fire to them. Udena hastens to the spot but it is too late. Sāmavatī and her women have perished in the flames! Suspicion falls at once on Māgandiyā. "It is through jealousy thou hast done this thing—a wonderful proof of the love thou bearest me," says Udena dissembling. "I wish to reward thee with a present and also all thy relatives." They all hasten to the Palace, many even who were no relations whatever of Māgandiyā. The king has them all thrown into a pit. Straw is piled up on the top of them, and fire set to it. They are also roasted, and Udena goes so far as to eat of the roasted flesh of Māgandiyā.

Then follows a story "*Once upon a time*".

In spite of the application made at the end to Māgandiyā and to Sāmavatī of the verses 21—23 * of the Dhammapada, it is evident that other stories might

* appamādo amatapadam pamādo maccuno padam
appamattā na mīyanti ye pamattā yathāmatā (21)
etam visesato ñatvā appamādamhi paṇḍitā
appamāde pamodanti ariyānam gocare ratā (22)
te jhāyino sātatikā niccam dalhaparakkamā
phusanti dhīrā nibbānam yogakkhemam annuttaram (23)

Cf. Aṭṭhakathā. p. 179 (*Fausböll*): Māgandiyā jīvanti pi matā yeva nāma, Sāmavatīpamukhā matā jīvanti yeva nāma.

have been used to illustrate a sentence of such a general range. My idea is that Buddhaghoṣa has made choice of that one, simply because he wanted to find some room, somewhere, for a story which he thought interesting. We might ask why he commences by relating the history of Udena's birth and then that of Vāsuladattā's abduction? It is clear that if we take the narrative *en bloc* the heroine is Sāmavatī. One can understand that her history might be mixed up with that of Māgandiyā, but the history of Vāsuladattā is a mere digression. We have already noted that it was not at all in its proper place, and that it was breaking off, quite uselessly, the sequence of the narrative. On the other hand, as the work begins with the section *Udenassa uppatti*, and that, as a heading of the sections of Vāsuladattā and of Māgandiyā, we read the formulas.—*Udenassa pana aparāpi Vāsuladattā nāma devī ahosi. Aparā pana Māgandiyā, nāma rañño santikā aggamahesiṭṭhānaṁ labhi*, the reader might be deceived into imagining that the author's intention is to narrate a complete history of Udena and his several wives. The composition of Buddhaghoṣa is of a hybrid character. It is a history of Sāmavatī into which he has incorporated, in a very clumsy manner, two episodes of a legend of Udena, which, as we have seen, are intimately connected with each other in the Papañcasūdanī.

We shall, again, come across the story of Sāmavatī (Çyāmāvatī) in the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya. There the object seems more apparent. It is, if one judges by the episode of Çrīmatī receiving lessons from Çāriputra which concludes it, to explain the liberty, given to his monks by the Buddha, to remain, under certain circumstances, in the king's harem after sunset. *

The essential part of the story might have been told in a few lines. The author has gone back a great deal. The history of Çyāmāvatī is divided into two sections:—1st. Rudrāyaṇa-avadāna, 2nd. Mākandika-avadāna, which the compiler of the Divyāvadāna has given us in the wrong order, respectively XXXVII and XXXVI, but which the Chinese text places in their natural sequence, giving us also the portion suppressed in the Sanscrit compilation. †

The first section (Rudrāyaṇa) has for object to explain the origin of Cyāmāvatī. She is made to be the daughter of Bhiru, minister of Rudrāyaṇa, king of Roruka. Bhiru has entrusted her to the nun, Çailā, with instructions to take her to Kauçāmbī, to his friend the merchant Ghoṣita. In the Pāli commentary Çyāmāvatī was the daughter of a foreign merchant. Here, she is the daughter of a foreign minister. There she was flying from her native town, in which an epidemic was raging. Here, she flies from Roruka which has been destroyed by a rain of sand dust. It is clear that, according to tradition, Çyāmāvatī, destined to wed Udayana, had to be a stranger, exiled to Kauçāmbī, as a result of her country's misfortune, and had to be received there as an act of charity. As for giving her as the daughter of Bhiru of Roruka, it is simply a contrivance to bring in the story

* *Cf.* Huber, *Et. de lit. bouddhique, V, Les sources du Divyāvadāna, Bul. de l'Ec. fr. d'Ext. Or.*, janv.—mars 1906, p. 27 du tirage à part.

† The Chinese text has been analysed by Mr. Huber, *l. c.*

of Rudrāyaṇa, and of the destruction of Roruka. That story has two points of contact with Udayana's legend. First of all, the resemblance between the names Udayana and Rudrāyaṇa (we find also Udrayana) has caused to be attributed to the second personage a trait which belonged to the first. In the second place, the presence at Roruka of the statue of the Buddha, brought from Kauçāmbī, may also have caused the confusion, but the two personages are in no way identical in spite of Mr. Kern's assertion. Roruka is localized, with a great deal of probability, by Mr. Huber, in Turkestan.

The Tibetans * relate that Udayana, king of Bénarés (!) had a statue of the Buddha made of yellow sandal wood. Hiouen-Tsang says that Udayana, king of Kauçāmbī, had that statue fashioned by an artist who, thanks to the favour of Maudgalyāyana, had been to heaven to contemplate the Buddha,† and that on hearing of this, Prasenajit had a similar one made.

Same story with the Jainas, but naturally it is a statue of the Jina. Udayana, the Sauvīra, fought with Pradyota, who wanted to steal it away from him‡. That very statue of the Buddha, Hiouen-Tsang $ says he saw at Pi-mo (Bhimā), where it was working miracles. From Kauçāmbī, after the death of the Buddha, it took its flight through the air to the town of Roruka (Ho–lao–lo–kia). || As a result of the inhabitants having, at the king's order, covered with sand an arhat who was saluting the statue, the town was buried under showers of sand, and the statue was carried through the air from Roruka to Bhimā.

In the Mūla–Sarvāstivāda–Vinaya, the story of Rudrāyaṇa begins with the exchange of presents between that king and Bimbisāra. The latter sends a portrait of the Buddha. On its reaching the place, some merchants of Madhyadeça explain to Rudrāyaṇa the meaning of the formulas which accompany it. ¶ Rudrāyaṇa asks the Buddha for one monk; the Buddha sends Kātyāyana with five hundred monks who make many converts. But they are not allowed to enter the harem, as this is forbidden by the Buddha. It is the nun Çailā, who with five hundred nuns, comes to preach the law to the king's women. Rudrāyaṇa, playing on the lute, to make the queen Candraprabhā dance (a trait of Udayana's legend) perceives on the body of his wife signs which foretell an early death. She, at once, avails herself of the seven days of life which remain to her, to be converted and instructed by the Buddha. She informs her husband that he must become a monk to be united again with her in the country of the Devas. Rudrāyaṇa abdicates in favour of his son Çikhaṇḍin, becomes a monk, and later on is put to death by the order of

* Schiefner. *Tib. Lebensb. Çākyamunis*, 273.

† *Mémoires* II, 284.—according to another Chinese tradition, Udayana had at first a statue cast in gold. *Cf.* Chavannes, *J. As.*, Xe s., 11 (1908), p. 504.

‡ Cunningham, *Arch. Surv.* III, 47. Kern has collected old documents on the images of the Buddha, *Hist. du bouddhisme dans l'Inde*, 11, 157 sq.

$ *Mémoires*, II, 243 sq.

|| *Cf.* Huber, *Et. de lit. bouddhique*, VIII, *La destruction de Roruka*, *Bul. de l'Ec. fr. d'Ext.—Or.*, juil.—dec. 1906. p. 335 sq.

¶ This portion has been translated by Burnouf, *Intr.*, p. 341 sq.

that same son, who fears for his throne. At last, Çikhaṇḍin's impiety is the cause of the destruction of Roruka, as Hiouen-Tsang relates in some parts of his work. It is then that Bhiru entrusts his daughter Çyāmāvatī to Çailā's care. I pass over the story of Çyāmāka, son of the second minister, Hiru, entrusted by him to Kātyāyana, who flies followed by the guardian deity of the town of Roruka, as also the story "*Once upon a time*" which closes that section and Chapter XXXVII of the Divyāvadāna.

Follows, but only in the Chinese text, in a version altogether different from the Pāli one, the history of the merchant Ghoṣila who became minister of Udayana and founded the Ghoṣitārāma. Çyāmāvatī, adopted by him, is sought after in marriage by several kings, amongst whom is Udayana. Her choice falls on Hatthāḷavaka,* king of Āṭavī, whose history is then given. The very day Çyāmāvatī arrives at Āṭavī her fiancé becomes a convert. He is no longer allowed to marry her. In spite of the occurrence, Çyāmāvatī remains at Āṭavī, and devotes herself to the service of the monks. A short time after, the king having died, she returns to Kauçāmbī. There Udayana seeks her again in marriage, this time with success. The story of her maid, Kubjottarā, and of the merchant of flowers (here of perfumes) follows, very similar to that we have already met in the Pāli version. Kubjottarā relates to Çyāmāvatī the teachings of the Buddha.

Next comes the section of Mākandika, which forms chapter XXXVI of the Divyāvadāna. Mākandika is a Brahmin of Kalmāṣadamya. He has a daughter of peerless beauty, Anupamā, whom he offers in marriage to the Buddha. The Buddha refuses the offer and Anupamā vows to him a mortal enmity. It is exactly the story of the Māgandiyā of Buddhaghoṣa. Follows the episode of the old monk, who falls in love with Anupamā. Being snubbed by her, he dies of anger, and is hurled into hell. Next a long story "*Once upon a time*" (Siṃhala and the witches of the Tāmradvīpa), very much curtailed in the Divyāvadāna. The narrative starts again after the arrival of Mākandika at Kauçāmbī. He halts, with Anupamā, in a certain garden. The watchman of the garden informs Udayana, king of the Vatsas; "Sire," says he, "a beautiful woman, comely to look at, really charming, is in the garden, just the kind that will suit Your Majesty." The king goes into the garden, sees her and falls in love with her. Genuine love at first sight! She has enraptured his senses.—He asks the hermit, Mākandika: "To whom does that girl belong?" He replies, "Sire, she is my daughter, and belongs to no one."—"Why dost not thou give her to me?"—"Sire, she belongs to Your Majesty."—Anupamā is then taken to the palace of the lawful wives, with a retinue of five hundred waiting women, and a daily allowance of five hundred kārṣāpaṇas, for perfumes and garlands.

Not long after, the king has occasion to engage two new servants one to announce good news, and the other bad news.

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* As that portion is missing in the Divyāvadāna I borrow it from Mr. Huber (*Les Sources du Div.*). He gives the name Hatthālavaka under a Pāli form, because he borrows it from a Burmese source (*l. c.* p. 18 n. 2).

" Sometime after that incident, Udayana, Çyāmāvatī and Anupamā happened to be together. The king sneezed. " Homage to the Buddha" said Çyāmāvatī. " Homage to the king ! " said Anupamā. " Sire, look, Çyāmāvatī is eating Your Majesty's bread, but it is to the Çramaṇa Gautama she does homage. " " Anupamā," said the king, " in this circumstance it is not so. " " Çyāmāvatī, who is very devout, has unthinkingly done homage to the Çramaṇa Gautama "— She did not answer the king, but told one of the maids : " Girl, when the king, Çyāmāvatī and myself are alone together, let a metal plate fall on the staircase. " " All right, " answered the maid. So, when the three were alone together, she let a metal plate fall on the staircase. " Homage to the Buddha " exclaimed Çyāmāvatī." The former scene is enacted again.

Udayana shares his favours in turn, between Çyāmāvatī and Anupamā. The day, which was Çyāmāvatī's, she orders the bird-catcher to bring some hazel hens alive. The bird-catcher brings them. " Give them to Anupāmā " says the king. Anupamā hears him, " Sire, it is not my turn, but Çyāmāvatī's. " " Hallo man ! " says the king, " go and take them to Çyāmāvatī."—The bird–catcher brings them to Çyāmāvatī and tells her to prepare them for the king. Says Çyāmāvatī, " Am I a bird-catcher ? To kill any living thing is no business of mine. " Anupamā had heard her ; " Sire," says she, " had she been told to prepare them for the Çramaṇa Gautama, she and her maids would have prepared them at once." The king thinks that it might be so. So he tells the man to go and order her to prepare them for the Blessed One. As he was going, Anupamā tells him secretly " Kill them before thou takest them to her. " He kills them, and takes them to Çyāmāvatī.—" The king sends word that thou should'st prepare them for the Blessed One." She with her maids sets to work at once. The bird–catcher goes to inform the king : " Sire, she has set to work with her maids. " " Your Majesty has heard ", says Anupamā, " If it is not allowed to kill living things, it is not allowed to do it for the Çramaṇa; on the other hand, if it is allowed to do it for the Çramaṇa, it should also be allowed to do it for the king, but she said that she was not to kill for the king. How is that ? " Udayana, in a rage, wants to slay Çyāmāvatī. Follows the episode of the arrows which refuse to reach their aim. The king's wrath subsides, and he consents to have the Law explained before Çyāmāvatī in the harem.

Rage of Anupamā, who thinks only of revenge. It so happens that Udayana is forced to set out on an expedition against a rebel vassal who has defeated the royal troops. He leaves Çyāmāvatī to the care of Mākandika, with orders to carry out all her wishes. Anupamā urges her father to help her in her revenge. She begs and threatens by turns. At last he gives in and contrives a wile against Çyāmāvatī. He goes to offer his services to her. She is not in need of anything. Yet, says she, " those young maids, during the night, by lamp light, study the words of the Buddha. For that purpose they require some bark from birch trees, some sesame oil, some pens, and pencils. " Mākandika piles up all that inflammable material and sets fire to it. Meanwhile, the women's parents flock together

to put out the fire. Mākandika, sword in hand, obstructs the passage, fearing, he says, that they might violate the king's harem. Çyāmāvatī, thanks to the supernatural powers with which she has been endowed, as a reward for her merits, rises up in the air, delivers a short sermon and falls in the flames, with all her companions. Alone Kubjottarā escapes. Mākandika gets rid of all the bodies and the parents of the victims go into exile lamenting those they have lost.

The Buddha is informed of the incident. It is the occasion of a sermon.

But who will take the news to Udayana? "The man of bad news"! He agrees, on condition that he be given an army, and, on a painted canvas, pictures representing the whole series of events, which have caused the death of Çyāmāvatī. He goes into a foreign country and from there, giving himself out as a king, he writes to Udayana to ask him for assistance against Mṛtyu (Death) who has deprived him of his son. "He is mad," thinks Udayana, who nevertheless sends a favourable reply, on condition that the sham king should first help him to chastise the rebel vassal. The rebel takes fright and makes his submission. The new ally urges Udayana to keep his promise. "Thou art mad", replies the king, "Has it ever been heard that any one has ever been brought back from Mṛtyu's place?" "Then look at this picture," says the messenger. "Çyāmāvatī has died in flames"! exclaims the king. "*Thou* hast said it." "But for that stratagem I would have had thy head cut off."

On his return to Kauçāmbī, Udayana orders Yaugandharāyana to have Mākandika and Anupamā burnt in the torture chamber. The minister shuts up Anupamā in a cave. The king's grief lasts for seven days. After a week, Udayana is consoled and asks for Anupamā. Yaugandharāyana confesses his disobedience, of which the king approves. Anupamā is taken out of the cave; those seven days of fast have done her no harm. Udayana goes to see the Buddha, and asks him why Çyāmāvatī has died in the flames and why her maid Kubjottarā has been the only one to escape? The Buddha relates to Udayana a story "*Once upon a time*" and after the king's departure relates a second, and a third story about Kubjottarā and Anupamā in a previous existence. Those stories have no interest for us here.

In a previous existence, Anupamā had a friend, the daughter of a Brahmin, who, as a reward for having given alms to a monk, has obtained the favour to be reborn in her present existence, as a daughter of the householder Ghoṣila.* She is beautiful and her name is Çrīmatī. Udayana falls in love with her and marries her. One day she asks to see the monks, threatening to starve herself to death, if her wish is not complied with. Ghoṣila's house is next door to the king's palace. Udayana orders his father-in-law to prepare in his house a meal for the monks, and to have an opening made in the wall separating the two houses, in

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* The Divyāvadāna connects intimately, but in a clumsy way, the history of Çrīmatī in her present existence with that of Anupamā in a previous one. In the Chinese version, followed by Mr. Huber (*l. c.*, p. 26), the two stories have no connection whatever. Çrīmatī, in a previous existence, was not the young brahmin referred to above, but a servant maid of Ghoṣila.

order that Çrīmatī may satisfy her curiosity. The Buddha sends Çāriputra, who delivers a sermon to the queen. Against the rules, he remains to instruct her after sunset, because by that time she has not yet attained the state of *crotāpatti*. The Buddha approves of that conduct (*vide supra*).

This last episode is simply an addition to illustrate an exception made to the rule of discipline. The personage of Çrīmatī is merely a replica of that of Çyāmāvatī: same father, same wish to know the Buddha, same means used as in the story of Çyāmāvatī in the Pāli commentary (making an aperture in the wall) but here without Udayana's consent. If then we suppress, at the end, the episode of Çrīmatī, and at the beginning, the whole Rudrāyaṇa-avadāna, which, as we have seen already, a very simple contrivance had allowed to connect with what followed, we have, remaining to us, exactly the story of Çyāmāvatī and Anupamā. Exception made of the accessory details, the most important of which bear on the circumstances of the arrival of Çyāmāvatī at Kauçāmbī, and on the chastisement of Anupamā, it is similar to the story of Sāmavatī and of Māgandiyā in the Pāli version. In spite of the Buddhist merits acquired by the heroines and of the stories "*Once upon a time*" related by the Buddha, it seems to me that, in its origin, that tale did not aim at edification. It was merely a harem drama; a king subduing a jealous woman who tries, by every possible means, to destroy her rival, whom at last she causes to perish in a conflagration, a husband who chastises the guilty wife. The story ends as a tragedy in the Pāli version, and as a comedy in the other one. I am quite willing to admit that the first inventor of the tale has made Çyāmāvatī a Buddhist and Anupamā an enemy of the Buddha, but I do not believe for a moment that the complicated tale has been put together to illustrate a point of discipline. What has happened in the case of other Buddhist stories, has happened in the case of this one also. The writers have drawn out of a profane stock which they have manipulated the best way they could. My idea is that their object was similar to that we must suppose in the compilers of the Mahābhārata. The "*ensemble*" of the books of a particular school had, as a matter of principle, to contain everything: first of all, of course, doctrine, but also a full stock of legends. Those stories were for the simple-minded Buddhists what the Purāṇas have been for their Brahminic brethren.

To sum up: Of a Udayana cycle we possess two lengthy fragments which, alone, Buddhaghoṣa had blended together, but without being able to make them really one! First, birth of Udayana and abduction of Vāsavadattā. Secondly, Çyāmāvatī and Anupamā (eliminating Rudrāyaṇa and Çrīmatī). Excepting the stories of the hero's birth, which I have not found in the Vinaya of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins, the canon of that school gives us the two fragments, but separated, the first one being a part of the Pradyota's legend. I am not surprised not to have found in it a complete Udayana's cycle similar to the Pradyota's cycle. The existence of one was bound to do some harm to the other. For instance, whilst in the Pradyota's legend, Udayana plays a part, far from honourable, in the story of Çyāmāvatī he is incontestably a sympathetic personage. He honours the

Buddha, favours his preaching, goes and asks for his advice; a very little more and he would become a convert. The cycle, from which this story is borrowed, was to the hero's glory. It was a counterpart to that of the Pradyota's story which the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins have inserted in their work. But from the fact that they have borrowed only a part from the first story, it does not follow that it did not exist elsewhere in a more complete form. Buddhaghoṣa has been for a long time suspected to have been familiar with the literature of the North. Is it not possible that he may have known some story of Udayana, which has helped him to write the one he has given us? It is, of course, only a hypothesis but one which is plausible enough. Wherefrom did he get the details about Udayana's birth? And wherefrom come the other texts which supply us with particulars on Udayana and in which that personage is held in odour of sanctity?

According to the Tibetan tradition, the Buddha converted Udayana whose son, Rāṣṭrapāla, joined the religious state.* The Karma-çataka† says the same of his son Çaraṇa (supposing Udayana, king of Suvīra, to be the same with Udayana, king of Kauçāmbī). In the Saṁyutta-Nikāya (Part IV, No. 127) we see Udena being instructed by Bhāradvāja. The same in the Karma-Çataka which is preserved in the Tibetan version. Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja is represented as preaching in the Ghoṣitārāma; Udayana seeing a great concourse of people going there, goes himself to pay a visit to the Saint! Bhāradvāja does not salute him. The king feels very angry at this snub, and, some time later, he returns to the Ghoṣitārāma quite determined to have the head of the proud monk cut off. This one lays a curse upon the king, and, for six months, Udayana, who has lost his way whilst hunting, loses his memory also, and lives in a low condition with a cowherd. After that period of trial, his memory returns and with it comes Faith. He entertains Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja with great magnificence for seven days. The Buddha, having come to Kauçāmbī, receives with all his community the king's hospitality for three months and preaches the Law. ‡ The first portion of that story is found in a different form at the beginning of the Jātaka 497 (*Fausböll* IV, 375 sq.). The holy man Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja, travelling through the air, stops to spend the hot hours of the day in Udayana's park, at Kosāmbī. The king comes with his wives to recreate himself. As for one week he has been indulging in drink, he falls asleep; the women scatter themselves over the park, picking up flowers and fruits. They come across the monk who starts preaching to them. The king wakes up. "What has become of those foolish women," he exclaims. He is told that they are all around a monk, who is preaching to them. Furious, Udayana wants to have the monk devoured by red ants. He orders that a bagful of them should be thrown on him. The holy man escapes and, rising in the air, goes to the Jetavana to relate the adventure to the Buddha.

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* Schiefner, *Tib. Lebensb. Câk.*, 269.

† Feer, K.-C. (89, VII, 7) J. As., IXe s., 17 (1901), p. 439 sq.

‡ L. Feer, K.-C., *l. c.* p. 70 sq.

Udayana's story was certainly well known, and we find in the Jātaka (409, *Fausböll* III, 384 sq.) a very precise allusion to the abduction of Vāsuladattā as related by the Aṭṭhākathā of the Dhammapada. That allusion could not have any meaning except for readers very familiar with all the details of the legend. The she-elephant, Bhaddavatikā, comes to see the Buddha who is staying in the Ghoṣitārāma. She complains of her master, Udena; "Formerly", she says, "he honoured me, looked after me, saying: "To thee I owe my *life*, *my kingdom and my wife*, now he neglects me, because I am old and incapable to render any service." The Buddha goes to see the king. "Where is Bhaddavatikā?" he asks. "I do not know" answers Udena.—The Buddha shames him on account of his ingratitude. Hereafter Udena must surround Bhaddavatikā with the same care as formerly.

One of the Chinese versions of the Dhammapada, which has been translated by S. Beal * represents, in section XXXIII, Udayana as a very devout king. That section, which Beal has not identified, is simply the story of Çyāmāvatī and of Anupamā, but very much abridged and arranged for purposes of edification, which means that it is quite different from its original form. I leave the reader to judge.

The Buddha is at Kaucāmbī in the vihāra called Mi-yin (*lovely sound*, says Beal—it is the Ghoṣitārāma). He is preaching the Law to Devas and men. At that time, the king of Kauçāmbī was Udayana and the queen had a great reputation for chastity (*it is Cyāmāvatī*). Having heard of the presence of the Buddha, the king, the queen and the maids go to listen to him, and become his disciples. At the same time, a certain Brahmin had a daughter of peerless beauty (it is the translation of her name, Anupamā). Smitten with the handsome looks of the Buddha he offers her to him. The Buddha refuses. Furious, the Brahmin offers her to Udayana, who weds her and makes her his second queen. She becomes jealous of the first one and contrives a wile to ruin her. One day, that her rival is engaged in her devotions, which she cannot interrupt, she manages for the king to send for her. The first queen does not obey the order. In a rage, Udayana has her brought before him and endeavours to pierce her with arrows, but the arrows instead of reaching the aim return to him.†—What is that magic power?—It is that I have found a refuge in the three jewels.—Udayana sends back the second queen to her parents and goes to see the Buddha. General conversion.

It is also, as a zealous disciple of the Buddha, that Udayana is represented in the *Udayana-vatsarāja-paripṛcchā*. That text exists in three versions in the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*.‡ The frame-work is borrowed from the Mākandika-avadāna.

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* *Texts from the Buddhist Canon commonly known as "Dhammapada" with accompanying narratives.*

† In connection with arrows which refuse to reach their aim, but return to the bowman, see the story of the "Gazelles of wind," B.K.C.S., VIII.

‡ *Catalogue* of Nanjio, 38: *Udayana-vatsa-rāja-paripṛcchā*. Translated by Fā-cü of the Western Tsin dynasty, A.D. 265-316-788:

Buddha-bhāsita-mahāyāna-rāja-paripṛcchā-sūtra. Translated by (Fâ-Hien) Dharmadeva, a çramaṇa of the Nālanda (973-1001)—23 (29): *Udayana-vatsa-rāja-paripṛcchā*. Translated by Bodhiruci of the Thāṇ dynasty, A.D. 618—907.

Let us see, first, No. 38 of Nanjio. During the reign of Udayana at Kauçāmbī, a man, called Mākandika, has a daughter who owes to her peerless beauty the name Anupamā. Kings and great personages seek her in marriage, but Mākandika, having seen on the Buddha's body the thirty-two marks, will have, for son-in-law, no one else but him. In spite of his wife's remonstrances, he goes, and offers Anupamā to the Buddha. The Buddha's refusal and preaching. All exactly similar to the version of that tale quoted above. Mākandika asks the Buddha whether it would be the proper thing to give his daughter to the king. The Buddha does not give any reply. Mākandika, accordingly, offers Anupamā to the king, who accepts her with joy, and has a palace built for her. It so happens that the lawful queen is a devotee of the Buddha. Anupamā, who is jealous of her, calumniates her to the king, and does her best to throw suspicion on her relations with the Buddha. The credulous king attempts to slay the queen with arrows. The miracle, we have already seen, takes place. Udayana, in a great state, goes to see the Buddha, confesses his crime, and begs for forgiveness. "I am of a ferocious temperament, easily provoked to anger, full of indulgence for myself I am without any for others. Goaded on by the three kinds of poison (*tṛṣṇā*, *krōdha*, *mōha*), I take my pleasure in doing evil. Listening to the mischievous advice of women I am no distinguisher between good and evil. Hell will be my lot after my death. Have mercy upon me, O Thou, who hast got the Light? Teach me in detail the real aspect of these monsters, who are hidden under the feminine form." Buddha replies that, from the day men give themselves up to the pleasures of the flesh, they suffer from those monsters. The Buddha's speech is developed in four lengthy parts : The man addicted to carnal pleasures, thinks only of women ; he deviates from the right paths, becomes sceptic as to the truth, is no longer able to distinguish between what is pure and what is impure ; he forgets his parents, neglects, for a woman's sake, to show them the gratitude he owes them—instead of remaining pious, honest, respectful of the çramaṇas as he was whilst a student before going into the world ; he no longer gives alms, does no longer care about a future life ; he amasses riches not to do good, but to satisfy his passions, etc. At last, the Buddha gives in gāthās a long exposition of the evils due to the society of women. It is a lengthy *réquisitoire*. Udayana acknowledges the truth of that teaching, promises not to break any more the duties commanded by religion and goes away converted. No. 788 of Nanjio gives the same story and the same preaching, but much more developed. The Buddha is at Kauçāmbī, in the garden Ghoṣita or Ghoṣila, with five-hundred monks. At that time, Anupamā, daughter of Mākandika, is jealous of the queen, Çyāmāvatī, and very anxious to get rid of her. She makes Udayana believe that Çyāmāvatī and her five-hundred women are having improper relations with the Buddha and his monks—then follow the story of the king's wrath, of the miracle, of the questions and answers of Udayana and Çyāmāvatī as in the Mākandika-avadāna. The preaching of Çyāmāvatī (in gāthās) is largely developed. The rest as in No 38, but more detailed. The whole preaching of the Buddha is in gāthās.

No. 23 (29) of Nanjio is a more modern version of No. 38, but, in the arrangement of the material, agrees better with No. 788. The scene is in the garden Ghoṣila, where the Buddha is with twelve-hundred-and-fifty monks; the jealous woman is called Devakanyā (it is an equivalent of Anupamā).*

To sum up, the legend has been interpreted as favourable to Udayana. If it has been chosen to serve as a framework for the Buddha's preaching on women, it is because it supplies a memorable instance to what degradation licentiousness can lead a king, and also because it was generally admitted that the guilty king had been converted. The traits of the drama in which Udayana was an actor have become softened. He himself has appeared, in the end, under the figure of a devotee, duly converted, almost a saint, in any case, a personage of the *Lēgende dorēe* of Buddhism.

I am inclined to believe that there existed at Kauçāmbī, on the local hero, Udayana, a cycle of stories either in writing or handed down by oral tradition, more comprehensive than what has passed into the Buddhist text. That kind of *Udayanacarita* was naturally to the hero's glory; a mystery surrounded his birth, through magic powers he had been able to recover the throne of his father, he knew the charms wherewith to tame elephants and also his hand never left the enchanted viṇa, a gift from divine ascetics or from nāgas. He possessed flying chariots and was on terms of intimacy with the Genii. I do not see why we should not accept the testimony of Guṇāḍhya about details which agree so well with the rest of the legend. He is a chivalrous prince, fascinating, addicted to pleasure, loved by women, born under a lucky star: prisoner of his sworn enemy the perfidious Pradyota, he escapes and carries away his daughter. His life is made up of gallant adventures and dramas of love. One of his wives, jealous of her rival, set fire to the palace to cause her to perish. On the other hand, he is also generous and a friend of the monks.

Buddhism has adopted that personage and given him an honourable place among the contemporaries of the Buddha. It was for Guṇāḍhya to make him the prototype of romance and of comedy.

POINTS OF CONTACT BETWEEN THE BṚHATKATHĀ AND THE BUDDHIST LEGENDS

A rapid glance at the first "lambhakas" of the Bṛhatkathā makes it clear to us that Guṇāḍhya was taking liberties with the legend, as is only natural with a romancer, but also that he knew it in detail in the form in which it has come to us.

The Bharatarohaka, who is the minister of Pradyota in the Bṛhatkathā, is no one else but the Bharata, formerly a husbandman under the name of Ghrāṇa,

* *Vide* also No. 1350 of Nanjio: the *Dhyāna-nisṭhā-samādhi-sūtra* treats in passing of bad words (*durbhāsita*) and goes on "After that we must mention king Udayana who took 500 arrows to shoot." Follows an abridgment of the story of Çyāmāvatī and of Anupamā. It is introduced by the formula "As in the Pi-lo-king (Vīra-sūtra ?) the avadāna of king Udayana says." The original is by Sañgharakṣa who belonged to the court of Kaniṣka; the translation by Kumārajīva, in 402 and 407.

who figures in the narrative of the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya. That narrative shows him to us loaded with favours by his master who goes so far as to wash his feet in public, that favourite Bharatarohaka, so beloved by Pradyota, that the king falls into a decline at the news of his death. In this connection, we may note how much more does the Çlokasaṃgraha agree with the data supplied by the legend than the Cashmerian version. Bharatarohaka dies sometime before his master. This is natural. According to the legend, both are more or less contemporaries and both are in an advanced age. It is the sons of Bharatarohaka, Rohantaka and Suroha, who act as ministers to Gopāla, Pālaka and Avantivardhana. On the contrary, the Cashmerian version is guilty of an anachronism in making Bharatarohaka the minister of Pālaka, at a time when Avantivardhana has reached man's estate, when his cousin, Naravāhanadatta, is Cakravartin, and when Udayana and Vāsavadattā have committed suicide, satiated with happiness and a long life.

The continual sleeplessness, from which Pradyota was suffering in the legend, has become, in the Bṛhatkathā, the cause of his death. That death is preceded by acts of cruelty as we read in the Vinaya, more especially, the slaughter of the Brahmins (B.K.C.S., 1, 39) which forms the subject-matter of one of the last sections.

Only Pradyota's death is recorded in the Bṛhatkathā—at least in what has been preserved of it, but allusions are made to incidents of his life, which we find in his legend. One night, Pradyota had a certain dream which the court Brahmins refused to interpret—similar detail in the narration of the Vinaya.—That dream is interpreted by the Brahmin, Çāṇḍilya, who at first is victim of his outspoken language, but, subsequently, is loaded with honours. This personage is no other than the Brahmin of the legend, who alone having had the courage to speak out the truth, becomes the king's purohita. There is also the dream foretelling Pradyota's death within seven fortnights, which we can compare with the prediction of Çāraṇa (in the Karma-çataka, v. *supra*) which foretells the king's death within seven days.

Pradyota, says Budhasvāmin, left to his future heir, Gopāla, every liberty to amuse himself. The legend gives us information on the extraordinary facilities he was granting, on that point, to his women themselves. Gopāla succeeds his father; in the narration of the Vinaya he is the crown prince. We need not insist on the fact that the traits of the nature of Pradyota the choleric, have been exactly preserved. As for the events, Guṇāḍhya collects them and develops the narration in a different manner, but his part of invention is very small.

It is not altogether the same in the story of Udayana. There was no reason for Guṇāḍhya to spare Pradyota. But he had to present to us, in Udayana, a hero always noble and sympathetic. The future Cakravartin could not possibly be born from a family in which the least stain could be found. Whether Guṇāḍhya has voluntarily improved the legend, or rather, whether he has found it at Kauçāmbī, already arranged entirely to the hero's glory, the figure of Udayana

does not exhibit, in his work, any unpleasant character. Even the story of his mother, Mṛgāvatī, has been modified intentionally. In the legend she lives as his wife with a hermit who has given her shelter. In the Bṛhatkathā, she remains pure and finds her husband again. That was more decent. As for the rest of the episode, Guṇāḍhya reproduces it faithfully. Udayana, says the legend, receives from the hermit the magic lute, but we are not told where it comes from. Guṇāḍhya tells us how the hermit contrives to make Udayana receive it from the Nāgas. The difference is in the abundance and not in the nature of the details. Udayana charms the elephants of the forest and they take him on their back (in the Çlokasaṃgraha as well as in the legend). Only, the circumstance of the return to Kauçāmbī cannot be the same as, in the Bṛhatkathā, Udayana's father is still alive, but between the Cashmerian and the Nepalese versions it is the latter which agrees more with the legend, as Çatānīka has nothing to do with his son's return and as Udayana returns accompanied by his mother and with the help of the magic powers.

Guṇāḍhya still reproduces the legend faithfully when he places the abduction of Vāsavadattā just at the beginning of Udayana's reign. I may refer to what has been said as to the order followed by Buddhaghoṣa in the Aṭṭhakathā of the Dhammapada. Must we believe the Cashmerian version, when it relates that Pradyota was anxious to have Udayana as a son-in-law, and when it shows Udayana in chains no doubt, but yet in a posture less humiliating than in the legend? I cannot tell,—the Çlokasaṃgraha having suppressed the whole of the Udayanacarita,—but in that version I have come across so many inaccuracies, due to the desire to do away with anything that might look vulgar in the several adventures, not to have some suspicion in regard to it. I note details which betray an intimate connection between that narration and that of the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya. In both, Yaugandharāyaṇa comes to get information, with Vasantaka according to the Kathāsaritsāgara, under the name of Vasantaka according to the narration of the Vinaya. In both, he acts the part of a madman to avoid suspicion; in both, a Kāñcanamālā plays a part; the Kathāsaritsāgara gives her as a confidante of Vāsavadattā, the legend as a sister of Yaugandharāyaṇa. I should not be surprised, were that section of the Bṛhatkathā to be brought to light again, if one would not find, in the rest of the story, a connection with the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya, closer than the Kathāsaritsāgara leads us to suspect. One instance: we have in the Çlokasaṃgraha (11, 41) an allusion that it is as a charmer of elephants and not as a musician that Udayana became famous at Pradyota's court. Besides, it is incredible that this story should not have existed in the local traditions of Kauçāmbī with, no doubt, original characteristics.

From the seduction of Vāsavadattā, the divergence becomes greater between the Bṛhatkathā and the text of the Vinaya, but it is easy to see that Guṇāḍhya continues to draw from the same sources. The account of the flight of the lovers on Bhadravatī's back is borrowed from them. The pursuit of the fugitives by Pālaka mounted on Naḷāgiri is an imitation of the pursuit of Jīvaka by Kāka.

One might, at first sight, think that Guṇāḍhya has omitted the most lengthy portion of the legend, the story of Çyāmāvatī and of Anupamā. This is not the case. It is possible that he may have narrated, after the story of Vāsavadattā's marriage, the story of the amours of Udayana with other women, but he has done better. From the story of Anupamā he has built up, in transforming it, that of Padmāvatī. This last personage, who does not figure in the legend, is a creation of Guṇāḍhya, who makes of her a type of sweetness and docility quite the opposite of Anupamā, but we must remember by what means Udayana *conquered* this new spouse. She will not be given to him if he has already a wife alive. The ministers conceive the idea of setting fire to Vāsavadattā's palace, and to spread the lying rumour that the queen has perished in the flames. Udayana is heart-broken, but as we are told in some other passage that a king's grief lasts only for seven days, he marries Padmāvatī. No use could be made of the personage of Çyāmāvatī. She was very holy and there was no room for her in a love romance. Guṇāḍhya seems to have suppressed her, but, as in her life there was a dramatic episode, he has transferred it to Vāsavadattā. Anupamā's story would also have been out of place in the Bṛhatkathā. Padmāvatī has taken her place, and of her atrocious life, remains only the conflagration transformed from a criminal outrage into an innocent artifice.

Even the account of Udayana's death has been made use of by Guṇāḍhya. Can there be any comparison one might well ask ?—In Pradyota's legend, Udayana is a tyrant whom Vāsavadattā causes to fall into a pit where his body becomes the prey of dogs. In the Bṛhatkathā he is a hero who, weary of the vanities of this world, commits suicide and is taken up to heaven in an aerial chariot. Yet, the story is substantially the same. In both narratives, Udayana is killed because he falls into a precipice; in both, Vāsavadattā follows him in death. Only, the compilers of the Vinaya have made the figure of Udayana look as black as possible whereas Guṇāḍhya has idealized it.

It is not easy to doubt that, between the Bṛhatkathā and the legends of Pradyota and Udayana, as we find them in the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya, there is an intimate connection. This observation has an importance of its own. Once again the Bṛhatkathā is localized in a region which goes from Kauçāmbī to Ujjayinī. The legend of Guṇāḍhya does not deceive us as to that part of India in which he was writing. On the other hand, if this were the place for a more lengthy discussion about the sect of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins, I should ask myself whether that sect did not have a special connection with Guṇāḍhya's countrymen.

The rest of the Bṛhatkathā will not detain us long. After the history of Udayana, we come to unexplored ground. Naravāhanadatta has no prototype in the legend. As for the accessory tales, not having anything positive to prove their authenticity, the study of their origin could not give us anything definite on the sources of the Bṛhatkathā. With regard to most, if not all, we are sure that Guṇāḍhya has not invented them. It is certain that there is nothing

Buddhistic in many of them. To give only one instance: the story of Trita in the well is very ancient, but it is in Vēdic literature that it is found. To tell the truth, it is specifically neither Brahmin nor Buddhistic. It is the story of a traveller thrown into a well by his companions in a caravan, who wanted to rob him, and who is saved by a miracle as a reward for his merits. The substance of the story remaining the same, each one could accommodate the *dénouement* according to his own religious persuasion. The Ṛg-Veda (1, 105) knows that tale. It is found also in several Brahmanic stories.* For Guṇāḍhya to have been able to mention it, is a proof that it has always been existing in folklore. Still, it is in Buddhistic texts that one has a better chance to come across tales made use of by Guṇāḍhya or at least stories of the same kind. Thus, the whole story of Viçvabhadra, the carpenter, is found in the Kandjur. The first half, which mentions the wonderful skill of the Greeks, is found in one of the tales published by Schiefner (*Bul. de l'Ac. Imper. des Sciences de St-Pét.*, XXI (1876) p. 194). The second half, the story of the newly-married husband, who having gone into a foreign land returns in secret on a flying machine to see his wife, is related in the Karma-çataka (36, III, 4; Feer, J. As., IX e. s. 17, p. 269). Again, in the Kandjur we find stories of skilful artisans, (Schiefner, l.c., p. 193), notably of Greeks (*ibidem*, p. 283). The ingenious deductions of Gomukha, from the traces of Amṛtagati's footsteps, are somewhat similar to passages found in the tales of the Chinese Tripiṭaka.† It is almost superfluous to remind my readers how frequent in the Buddhistic texts are stories of merchants, of caravans, and of shipwrecks. The reason of those analogies is simply that the Buddhistic legend draws, like Guṇāḍhya, from a cycle profane and popular. It is likely that, if we possessed the rest of the contemporary profane literature, it would exhibit the same characteristics.

CHAPTER V

The Originality and Influence of Guṇāḍhya

It is not Udayana whom Guṇāḍhya has chosen to be the hero of his Bṛhat-kathā. He has imagined for that fascinating king a son endowed to a more eminent degree with all the qualities which the legend attributed to the father. Udayana's history has become the portico of the vast edifice of the "Great Story" of which Pradyota's story may be considered as the threshold. But the rest of the narrative—I mean of the framework—has been invented by Guṇāḍhya. With him, the pale Rāṣṭrapāla (or Çāraṇa?) who, in the Buddhistic legend, was a monk, or the Bodhirājakumāra, of whom it records an act of cruelty,‡ has become the young man, destined by Fate to ascend the throne of the Genii, the brilliant

* Cf. Sāyaṇa (*ad* Ṛ.-V., 1, 105) mentioning the tradition of the çātyāyanins: Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa (Oertel, J.A.O.S., XVIII, p. 18): Bṛhaddevatā (III 132 sq.); Mahābhārata (IX, 36, 7 sq.).

† Cf. E. Chavannes, *Fables et contes de l'Inde extraits du Tripiṭaka chinois.—Actes du XIVe C.I.des Or., S,* P. 136-138.

‡ Jātaka 353 (F., III, 157).

Naravāhanadatta, beloved of women and protected by the Enchanters. In taking round the world that seeker after adventures, Guṇāḍhya uses, at his sweet will, the epic or the familiar style, and passes from an enchanted to a real world. With the career of the future Cakravartin are associated, on one side, men engaged in the pursuits of earthly life, on the other, those mysterious Vidyādharas, whom Guṇāḍhya did not invent, but who owe to him their passing from the popular tales into classical literature.

Indian critics have made no mistake on that point. Authors, in no uncertain voice, vouch for the fact that the real hero of the Bṛhatkathā* is Naravāhanadatta, and the fantastic character of his adventures has impressed popular imaginations very vividly. The terms *citrārthā*, *vismayarasapūrṇā* are those used, in preference, to qualify the Bṛhatkathā.† Later on, when the *kathā*, as a literary *genre*, has assumed divers forms, the Bṛhatkathā has always been distinguished from subsequent *kathās* in that it was *par excellence* the type of the Cakravartin's history. Hemacandra, in his Kāvyānuçāsana, makes the Bṛhatkathā a special section in the general category, *kathā*, and anxious, no doubt, to group under its name the several versions which had been made of it, like the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathāsaritsāgara—and the early imitations, he takes the term in a general sense. "*A kathā*, when it is divided into lambhakas, and when it has a fanciful subject matter like the history of Naravāhanadatta, etc., takes the name of Bṛhatkathā." ‡

We must admit that Guṇāḍhya has not drawn only on his own imagination for the whole of Naravāhanadatta's story. To conceive the type of the future Cakravartin, he has had only to make use of what popular belief supplied him. The notion of Cakravartin is intermingled with that of the Buddha. The same being, born with the thirty-two favourable marks, is destined, if he lives in the world, to become a Universal Emperor, if he gives up the world, a Buddha. As there are officially seven Buddhas, there are similarly seven Cakravartins. The legend of Guṇāḍhya demanded that he became the historian of the seven, and that the story of Naravāhanadatta should be the last section—the only one now extant of his Bṛhat-kathā.§ Naravāhanadatta is born with the thirty-two marks,|| his birth has been a joy for earth and heaven like the birth of a Buddha. His destiny develops itself under the influence of a power which cannot be avoided, which, in each episode of his life, in an invisible manner, but according to a hidden plan, makes him ascend, one by one, the steps which must lead him to the final triumph. He has difficulties to surmount, but, in the end, he conquers the seven jewels and supernatural powers,

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* Ex. : Pañcastavī. *l. c.* ; v. *supra* p. 17 ; Hemacandra, Kāvyānuçāsana cité *infra*.

† Ex. : Kuvalayānanda, *l. c.* ; v. *supra* p. 15 ; Kāvyādarça (com. de Jīvānanda ad I, 38), etc.

‡ Lambāñkitādbhutārthā naravāhanadattādicaritavad Bṛhatkathā (Kāvyānuçāsana, VIII, *éd, de la Kāv.—M.*, P. 340).

§ We may note that, for that very reason, other stories of "cakravartins", like that of *Sūryaprabha*, had necessarily to be called Bṛhatkathā. Hemacandra would have classified them under the category of "Bṛhatkathā".

|| B.K.Ç.S , XXI, 30-55.

and becomes the Universal Emperor for the duration of a mahākalpa. If we imagine, by a radical *evhemerism*, the story of the Buddha to take place in a world of *bourgeois* adventures, if we replace the conquest of enlightenment by that of the magic arts, we have the scheme of the history of a Cakravartin. It is the legend of the Buddha, fallen to the level of a romance of adventures. Many a narrative, in accordance with that formula, must have been written for the amusement of merchants and women. Guṇāḍhya would have had little merit in composing his romance, if the Bṛhatkathā had not been distinguished, first of all, by the style of which, unfortunately, we cannot judge now, and also by the wealth of an inventive imagination, which knows how to vary the adventures by the art of knitting them in a narrative which never allows interest to lag, more especially, by the gifts of conceiving types and of depicting characters and passions.

We have already seen with what skill the complicated adventures of Naravāhanadatta are made to fit in a framework borrowed from the Rāmāyaṇa. I would emphasise here traits of greater value, and also more original. The mixture of lyrism and realism, of epic and *bourgeois* romance, seems to me to characterise Guṇāḍhya's work. He has purposely chosen as heroes the Vidyādharas, those "masters of magic arts" (men gods), who are more interesting than the gods, as says Çiva at the beginning of the Author's legend, because they have passions, suffer like men, and yet are of a higher order than men. The Vidyādhara is a creation of popular imagination, in whom are amalgamated the traits of the antique gandharva, of the yogin and of the arhat. The Brahmanical Pantheon has welcomed it. The Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, without speaking of the Purāṇas, mention the Vidyādharas. They are associated with the Gandharvas, the Yakṣas, the Siddhas, the Cāraṇas, the Kiṃnaras, in Çiva's cortège, where they figure as musicians and singers. We also find them by the side of the Daityas, the Dānavas, the Bhūtas, the Piçācas, the Rākṣasas.* The reason is that the Vidyādhara, like the Gandharva, has a double face. On one side, he is amiable, artist, given up to love, a being of light and of justice, altogether a Prince Charming and a kind of knight-errant, the refuge of the oppressed innocents, such as Jīmūtavāhana sacrificing himself to save the young nāga, or Amṛtagati appearing just in time to draw Naravāhanadatta out of the well, or the cakravartin restoring Suratamañjarī to her husband. On the other hand, licentious, jealous and cruel, he is the ravisher of women, the dangerous magician, who roams everywhere in quest of adventures, the demon with whom one frightens little girls. Kaliṅgasenā, seated one night on her terrace, in the moonlight plays with Madanamañjukā who is only a child. She is singing to her a popular song "Come over, Vidyādhara, come and carry away this beautiful little one." † She is taken at her word; the wicked Mānasavega comes down, seated on a ray of the moon, and attempts to carry off the child. This is the origin of

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* Ex. : Bhāgavata—P., X, LXXXV, 41.

† Ehi vidyādharā ehi gṛhāṇemām surūpikām...(B.K.Ç.S., XII, 13).

all Madanamañjukā's misfortunes. These traits permitted Guṇāḍhya to vary his gallery of vidyādharas, to make some wicked and traitors like Ipphaka (or Ityaka), Mānasavega or Vikacika, the others, generous and faithful, like Amṛtagati or Caṇḍasiṃha.

Another element of diversity: the means, by which the magic sciences are acquired or one becomes a vidyādhara, is simply to be a magician. One becomes a vidyādhara by the grace of predestination like Naravāhanadatta, by the virtue of asceticism like Sūryaprabha or simply and solely by generosity of mind like Tārāvaloka. But in any case, one must be in possession of "formulas." It is not Guṇāḍhya alone who says so. Citraketu, according to the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, obtained the sovereignty over the Vidyādharas, because he had in his possession a magic prayer which had been given to him by Nārada.* It is easy enough to see how that idea has originated. The yogin, in popular belief, is a being who has become superhuman, because "*he knows*". This is the case also with the arhat of Buddhism. No longer subject to the limitations of matter, great or small at will, visible or invisible, luminous or obscure, pastmasters of illusion, they are in reality "Vidyādharas". Guṇāḍhya, in imagining—for I find that idea only in the Bṛhatkathā—a nation of Vidyādharas, who inhabit the northern plateaux of the Himālaya, who have kings, laws, cities, lawcourts, passions, and wars, who recruit themselves from their children, on condition that their parents consent to reveal to them the magic sciences, and also from other human beings, is only conforming himself to the popular belief. He who is in possession of "knowledge" escapes from the human world. He is at liberty to go and live in the enchanted city, morally little different from our own world, but where everything is made of gold, where one lives a whole mahākalpa, where one is free from physical pain and where one is master of natural forces. It is a conception of "deliverance", childish and much realistic, in souls strongly attached to sensible realities, and who dream of an earthly paradise. I do not pretend that they have taken seriously the constructions of their fancy, but there is no doubt that they have taken keen pleasure in them.

Another symptom of that state of mind is the adoration of Kuvera, god of treasures, and also god of the Lokapālas, who guard the region of the North. He is intimately associated by Guṇāḍhya with the Vidyādharas, perhaps on account of his "habitat" and also, probably, because he is the god from whom one asks material favours. The place of Kuvera, in Hinduism, does not appear as very brilliant, but that is no reason why this patron of merchants should have had few followers. We find traces of his worship everywhere, in the Magadha, the Gandhāra, Nĕpāl, and Tibet. Hemacandra attributes twenty-two names† to him. The scoliast, some more, and the Bṛhatkathā many more still. In many ways he seems to be identical with Çiva. In his city Alakā, he is the chief of the Vidyādharas; like Çiva, he has his court of Gaṇas and of Genii of every description. His

* Bh.—P., VI, xvi, 28.
† Abhidh.—C., 189—190.

mountain, the Hemakūṭa, is the holiest of abodes, says Kālidāsa, and it is there that the poet makes Çākuntalā live with the holy man Mārīca. Here again, Guṇāḍhya does not innovate. He conforms himself to the popular worship. In Něpāl, Kuvera is identified with Mahākāla and he is worshipped there, as a domestic deity. Buddhism also knows Kuvera. In the Gandhāra we meet an extensive worship of Kuvera, among the northern Buddhists. In the Bṛhatkathā, he is *par excellence*, the Rājarāja, the Devadeva.

Guṇāḍhya tickled the taste of his readers by means of those wonderful tales where the marvellous may have been of a lower order, but which were for that very reason, all the more appreciated. It is, more especially, by depicting a fantastic world that he has attained a lasting fame, though this has done him some harm also. The word Bṛhatkathā came to mean the story of the Vidyādharas. That made it easy to include, under that same title, other tales of a similar character.

It is remarkable that his fame is not based more on his dramatic genius and on the types, very human, which he has created. The reason may be, that those two traits having become classics, have been looked upon as common property. The type of Udayana, the Hindu *Don-Juan*, owes its use as a model for dramatic authors to Guṇāḍhya. When Hemacandra gives Udayana as an example of the second type of heroes—the tender-hearted and frivolous *—it is a question whether he had in his mind the hero of the Buddhistic legends or the King of the Bṛhatkathā, the friend of the fine arts and of the dance, given to love and passionate without any barbarian character, such as copied by Harṣa in Ratnāvali and in Priyadarçikā. Udayana, in that respect, has done some harm to Naravāhanadatta. Guṇādhya had modelled the second on the first; artist like his father, loving and loved like him, he differs from him only in his good fortune. Unfortunately, he is too passive; that good fortune is not of his own making, but was due to destiny and to his friend. Whereas Udayana had to struggle in order to satisfy his passions, Udayana has hardly anything else to do but let himself live. That character, more colourless, has enjoyed less popularity, inasmuch also as he had not at his back the prestige of an antique legend. Yet he is painted under accurate colours. I do not know under what colours Naravāhanadatta was painted in the heroic part of his life. The Cashmerian version has reduced that part to what is merely indispensable—but, in his youth, he is of a charming ingeniousness; a child innocent, modest, of a weak will, he becomes transformed, little by little, under the influence of his too favourable destiny. He waxes passionate, violent, selfwilled, not altogether bad, but, spoiled by good fortune, he no longer controls his selfishness. He is subject to outbursts of groundless anger (with Gomukha). He lets cruel words of ingratitude escape his lips (towards Madanamaṇjukā, Vegavatī), which does not prevent him from showing himself on several occasions tender-hearted and full of tact (with Gandharvadattā, Ajināvatī). The shades of that character are described with great delicacy, thanks to the dialogue and the mono-

* Kāvyānuçāsana, *éd. de la Kāvya-M.*, p. 299.—Rāma is presented as an example of the first type, the noble type.

logue, according to the custom of the Hindu romances. The very human description of that artless egotism which develops itself by degree seems to me all the more remarkable that Indian literature is singularly lacking in valuable works of that description. In it, the drama is not based on the direct observation of moral life. In it, very seldom do we meet a character which develops itself, under the influence of the passions. That of Naravāhanadatta was to become transformed again in the remaining portion of the Bṛhatkathā ; Guṇāḍhya had to show him becoming wiser, through his success and the exercise of power. It is under the traits of a chief justice, calm and undisturbed, that he appears in the preamble. A cakravartin, we understand, must display the calm of the wise man ; he enjoys his good fortune, but is not able to entertain a new desire.

However artistic the conception of the principal hero may be, the Bṛhatkathā would lack life, were it not for Gomukha. That personage seems to me to have come out entirely from Guṇāḍhya's imagination. That imagination may have been assisted by the part legend assigned to Yaugandharāyaṇa, the cunning minister who assists Udayana in indulging his passions, but we cannot say that Guṇāḍhya has used that part as a model. The creation is altogether original. It is strange that posterior writers should not have attempted to turn it to account. No doubt, we find some touches, recalling Gomukha, in the *vidūṣaka* and, more especially, in the *viṭa* of theatrical pieces, but those conventional parts can, in no way, be compared with it. Gomukha's life is intimately associated with that of Naravāhanadatta's. Success results from that association. To be successful, says Gomukha, one must have a good anterior karman—but that does not depend upon us—and in addition to it, an active will. In their association, Naravāhanadatta supplies the first element, Gomukha the second. He is the artful adviser, who knows everything, foresees everything, and leads his master to the goal without that master having any idea of it. He is devoted, but conscious of his own intellectual superiority, he serves his Prince whilst teaching him as if he were a little boy. He is endowed with all sorts of talents, of those, at least, which ensure success in the world, and he uses them for his master's and his own benefit, often, also, merely for the pleasure of doing something and of showing off his abilities. Scruples of caste or religion do not stand in his way, and his plan of action always begins with a lie. The end justifies the means ! Reckless, adventurous, but clever in turning to good account circumstances as they come, he is never so lively and in such good humour, as when he is in a difficult situation, always trusting to his wits to get out of it. Gomukha, in fact, is intrigue incarnate, having, at its service, a profound knowledge of men. He allows himself everything, except going counter to public prejudice ; that is the only mistake which is irreparable.* That type might easily be odious ; Gomukha is not so, because he is full of wit, well-bred and more especially, because all his adventures end in benefiting sympathetic personages—the wicked alone being his dupes.

Female personages are less interesting. India has never known how to vary

* B.K.Ç.S., XXVI, 22—40.

the type of the loving woman; only, Madanamañjukā deserves our attention. She is not a common place lover, that courtesan's daughter, who is not satisfied to belong to Naravāhanadatta, but who will kill herself, if she does not become his lawful spouse. It is praiseworthy pride and not ambition that moves her. Her love is too great for her not to feel the degradation of being only a concubine. She wants to change her caste, and to become worthy of her husband. India, indeed, has never been cruel to the courtesan. Sometimes, even the Buddhistic legends, make her play an honourable part. The portrait given of her by the theorists of the theatre is rather flattering; among women she is the one who has a taste for the fine arts. The customs of the people sanction her existence. We see the "Gaṇikās", taking an official part in festivals; Kaliṅgasenā, according to the Bṛhatkathā, enjoys free admission into the royal palace, and becomes the intimate friend of the queen, Padmāvatī. Yet, a kind of disgrace is always attached to her moral character; she is never supposed to be capable of anything else, but of a sensual love; she is considered to be inaccessible to feelings of honour and of praiseworthy pride. That severity of public opinion is very marked in the single comedy in which a courtesan is the principal actress, the Mṛcchakaṭikā. She was not, it is true, a courtesan, but being the daughter of one, she was, by social custom, condemned to follow the example of her mother. It is a proof of originality for Guṇāḍhya to have endowed her with noble sentiments, with praiseworthy pride and a will to change her caste. To make her the heroine of the Bṛhatkathā, to place her on a peerless throne, is, indeed, a bold attempt! In that glorification of a courtesan, Guṇāḍhya has found only one imitator, the author of the Mṛcchakaṭikā.

If Guṇāḍhya has not been the first to compose a romantic narrative—and we have already admitted that he has made use of an anterior Udayanacarita—there seems to be no doubt that he has been the first to build up a vast literary edifice of that kind, for it is the Bṛhatkathā which has served to fix the type of the *genre kathā*. We have seen it already, in connection with the use of the term *lambhaka*, and in the permission given to poets to employ, in the kathā, any language they like. If now, we ask the Kāvyādarça what must be the subject matter of a kathā, this is the answer: "Abduction of young girls, fights, separation between lovers, dawns whether of the sun or of the moon or of a hero's birth, etc., are proper to the kathā as well as to the sargabandha, the difference* between them does not lie in all that."

Now, the sargabandha admits as ornaments, descriptions of cities, sites, seasons, games, festivals, licentious pleasures, separation of lovers, birth of princes, councils and embassies, battles. The hero, in the end,† must be victorious.

The difference then between the kathā and the sargabandha would be, if I understand Daṇḍin well, in the fact that the subject matter of the sargabandha is generally borrowed from the itihāsa and that, in it, there is question only of the

* I, 29.
† I, 14—19.

four ends of human life. But the Bṛhatkathā has borrowed nothing from the itihāsa and it admits of all the other ingredients recommended by Daṇḍin. The definition then seems to have been made purposely for it. A peculiarity of the kathā, more especially even of the ākhyāyikā—though Daṇḍin devotes four verses to prove that there is no reason to distinguish between the two kinds—is that, as a rule, it is the hero who himself relates his own story. Daṇḍin adds, "To make known, oneself, one's own merit is not wrong, provided one relates only what is true!"* What is the meaning of that, if it is not an allusion to the Introduction of the Bṛhatkathā ?

More difficult to explain is the fact that the kathā belongs to the second of the great divisions of poetry, the *gadya*, that is, *poetical prose*. But, first of all, it is generally prose mixed up with verses, and there is absolutely no proof that the Bṛhatkathā was written in verses. The legend of Guṇāḍhya, it is true, attributes to him a stupendous number of verses. When the legend was put together, it is quite possible that versions in verse, more or less similar to the Çlokasaṃgraha, may have been more common than the original. On the other hand, the Cambodian inscription which we have quoted above, has "the *gada* is sufficient for an agreeable ornament," allusion which seems to refer to a Bṛhatkathā in prose. Again, was the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathāsaritsāgara itself in verses? I have come across only two passages where a verse of Somadeva is nearly identical with a verse of Kṣemendra: K.S.S., XXVIII, 112 B.K.M., 183; K. S. S.,—XL., 21 cd—22 ab, B.K.M. 14, 342. Yet, one might have borrowed from the other. Besides, when two writers abridge the same text, it is not very strange, that from so many thousands of verses, they may reproduce two of these unintentionally. As for me, I presume that some sections of the Cashmerian compilation were really in verses, though not all. The fragments, quoted by Hemacandra, are in prose. If some tales, written originally in verses, have been incorporated in the compilation, the tales in prose have remained in prose. My opinion is, that it is probable that such was the case for the first nucleus of the compilation and even for the original work itself. Daṇḍin tells us that the kathā is in prose and adduces the Bṛhatkathā, by name, as the type of kathā.† I do not see why we should refuse to admit his evidence. The treatises of poetry or those of rhetoric, more modern than the Kāvyādarça, do not furnish us with any further information. They are only a repetition of each other.

It is mostly the authors of "kathās", in the technical sense of the term, who mention by name the Bṛhatkathā as the type of the kathā—Subandhu, Bāṇa, Trivikrama—The campū is a sub-variety of the kathā—Dhanapāla, Somadeva-Sūri.‡ Trivikrama associates the name of Guṇāḍhya with that of Bāṇa. By making a pun on *guṇa* (cord) and *bāṇa* (arrow) he gives Bāṇa as an imitator of

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* I, 24—25.

† I, 38.

‡ *Cf.* p. 10—15.

Guṇāḍhya.[1] Dhanapāla tells us that the Bṛhatkathā is the source of the other "kathās".[2] Somadeva-Sūri mentions Guṇāḍhya in a list—which is far from chronological— between Kaṇṭha and Vyāsa, after Bhavabhūti and Bhartṛhari, before Bhāsa, Kālidāsa and Bāṇa.[3] Govardhana associates his name with those of Bhavabhūti and Bāṇa. This shows clearly that those authors were aware of the affinities between Guṇāḍhya and the romancers,[4] as well as between Guṇāḍhya and the dramatic authors. The idea they had of the Bṛhatkathā was, in reality, that of a literary work composed according to rules. I will content myself with setting Indian opinion right on only one point: the Bṛhatkathā has not followed the rules, it has inspired them.

To form an exact idea of Guṇāḍhya's originality, we should also try to find out whether, for want of Indian models, he has followed foreign ones. No doubt, the Rāmāyaṇa on one side, the Buddhistic stories on the other, with all the realism these latter exhibited, the relation of travels, which were certainly not lacking in India, are sufficient to explain the genesis of the Brhatkathā. Still, Greek influence which made itself felt, with great force, at the same period—the fact requires no longer any proof—might have counted for something in it. The type of Greek romance is the love story framed in fantastic travels. The "Marvellous things from beyond Thulé" of Antonius Diogènes (1st.—2nd. century ?), show the Arcadian Dinias, who himself narrates his own adventures, going towards the North, nearly as far as the moon.[5] Lucian, who is understood to have parodied Antonius Diogènes in his "True History" goes much further than Guṇāḍhya with reference to fantastic inventions. It is interesting to find, in his work, the description of an army of aerial beings, an army which a reader, familiar with the Bṛhatkathā, would recognize, without hesitation, as "the army of the Vidyādharas".[6] But in the romance of Antonius Diogènes the love story plays only a secondary part. Dinias is separated—voluntarily—from his lady friend, Dercyllis, and when he has reached the extreme confines of the world, it is enough for him to fall asleep, in a temple, after having expressed a wish. He wakes up at Tyre near his beloved one.[7] In the Babylonics of Jamblichus (middle of the II century) the narration is more coherent, and resembles more the fundamental fable of the Bṛhatkathā. The hero, Rhodanēs, persecuted with his wife Sinonis by Garmos, king of Babylon, escapes the tyrant and, after a thousand adventures, at last triumphs and becomes king in his place. With the Ēphésiacs of Xenophon of

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1 *Cf.* p. 15—"çaçvad bāṇadvitīyena namadākāradhāriṇā । dhanuṣeva Guṇāḍhyena nihçeṣo rañjito janaḥ ॥" (I, st. 14).

2 The allusion of Dhanapāla to the "Ocean of the Bṛhatkathā" seems to me, to indicate that he is thinking not of the Bṛhatkathā, but of the Cashmerian Bṛhatkathāsaritsāgara.

3 *Cf.* p. 15.

4 Saptaç. (*éd. de la Kāvya-M.*), 697.

5 According to Photius, *Bibl.*, 166.

6 Histoire vraie; I, 13.

7 We may compare Sānudāsa who falls asleep "in the Land of Gold" and wakes up on the road to Campā.

Ephesus (III century?) the Greek romance assumes its final form. The hero, Habrocomés and the heroine Antheia, are separated immediately after their marriage, and up to the end of the story, when they meet again, we have only fantastic adventures, the scenes of which are all around the Mediterranean. Taken as a whole, the plan resembles that of the Bṛhatkathā. Leaving alone works which very likely belong to a period posterior to that of Guṇāḍhya, it is certain that between Greek romance and the Bṛhatkathā there is an external family likeness. But as far as the subject matter goes, the Bṛhatkathā is purely Indian, though I would not be surprised if Guṇāḍhya had borrowed from Greek stories—from which ones, I cannot say, as what remains to us of Greek romances is very little, compared to what has been lost—the very idea of that kind of literature "romance" and the scheme of the story which makes up the plot. On the other hand, we may note that all the Greek romancers were Orientals. We do not know what nationality is hidden under the Greco-roman name of Antonius Diogénes but Jamblichus is a Syrian, Xènophon, an Ephèsian, Apollonius is from Tyre, Hèliodoreus calls himself a Phaènician; later on, if Achilles Tatios is from Alexandria, Chariton is from Aphrodisias in Caria. Those are localities from which intercourse with India was easy.

The Hellenisation of Southern Asia survived Greek domination. Through the Parthian Empire, Greek influence reached India. The rapid development of Christian communities towards the East, in Bactria and Turkestan, from the first century of our era, shows clearly that western ideas were in circulation between the Mediterranean and the frontiers of India. If we cannot admit the hypothesis that the old Greek literature had an influence on India, is it not natural to admit that the productions of Eastern Greece have been easily known beyond the Indus, and have contributed towards the creation of new literary *genres*? This, of course, cannot be proved and it must remain only an impression, but one must confess that, outside the special province which occupies us here, it is corroborated by an *ensemble* of general indications. Besides, the eminent part reserved for the Greeks in the Bṛhatkathā, as well as in some tales of the Kandjur, which we have met already, deserves attention. The esteem in which the Greek artists are held is a date in itself. It is that period when Greek art was renovating sculpture and architecture in the Gandhāra. In the decorative arts also, hellenic taste had already prevailed. For some time the Greek bedsteads and ornaments of the table were fashionable, says Budhasvāmin, if not Guṇāḍhya. Is it not interesting that to the Greeks alone was attributed the art of building up aerial machines, which would enable simple mortals to vie with the Vidyādharas? It is under the traits of a "foreigner"—and the context allows us to add without hesitation of a "Greek"—that Bhadrā builds one for Udayana. No one seems surprised to see that stranger at Kauçāmbī. Viçvabhadra, whose services as an architect are lent by Pradyota to Brahmadatta of Benares, is an Indian no doubt, but it is in the school of the Greeks, we are told, that he has learned his profession. Technical

treatises like the "Mechanics" of Heron of Alexandria,[1] which have enjoyed a well deserved fame, are witnesses to the skill, theoretical and practical, possessed by Greek engineers. It is natural that it should have made an impression and that the magic powers of the Vidyādharas—conception strictly Indian—should have been associated with Greek science. These indications, which give us a date for the ideas put into execution in the Bṛhatkathā, make more plausible the possibility of a connection between it and Hellenic works. That problem is too extensive for our present study. The Bṛhatkathā is only one of the data and it is enough for us to have drawn attention to it.

The fame of Guṇāḍhya's heroes has not remained confined to the limited world of scholars. It seems to have taken deep root in the imagination of the masses. The hero's name, Naravāhana (-datta), which is found nowhere as far as I know, before Guṇāḍhya, has been introduced in the list of the kings of the lunar race.[2] An inscription of Mallideva, at Piṭhāpuram, in the Godavery District (Çāka 1117), gives the following genealogy, similar, excepting the name of Kṣemaka and the rank of Naravāhana, to the one found in the Bṛhatkathā: Arjuna, Abhimanyu, Parīkṣit, Janamejaya, Kṣemaka, Naravāhana, Çatānīka, Udayana.[3] The name of Naravāhana has been borne even as far as Cashmere, as we are informed by the Rājataraṃgiṇī. It is also the name, but later, (Çāka 1331 sq.) of a king of Udaypur[4] in Rājputāna. It is more strange still to find it borne at a much more ancient date, and at Kauçāmbī, by a personage, who was discharging the duty of dūtaka (charter of Lakṣmaṇa, of 158 Gupta (?)=477 A.D. Inscription at Pālī, near Kauçāmbī).[5]

Naravāhanadatta's story has been adopted by folklore, and it has supplied a long narrative to the jaina compilation of edifying tales, called the Kathākoça. That narrative,[6] as the reader will be able to judge, is not a popular story which, both Guṇāḍhya and Kathākoça, might have made use of, but it has been borrowed directly from the Bṛhatkathā. It contains the *Gandharvadattālambhaka*, and three others. Though the alterations are very great, I do not see how we could doubt the fact of borrowing. Only the hero, instead of being called Naravāhanadatta, bears the name of Dīpaçikha (quite fitting for a Vidyādhara), son of Vijayavarman, king of Çvetāmbikā, and of Jayā, he is an incarnation of a holy woman, Gandhabhadrā. At the time of his conception, the queen saw a flame entering her mouth, and when he was born, he bore on his forehead a luminous mark, an omen of a high destiny.[7] He hears that the king of Kāntipura, Vikramasena, is

1 Preserved in an Arabic version translated and published by Carra de Vaux. (*J.As.*, IXe s., i, 386 sq; II, 152 sq., 420 sq.)

2 Naturally the names of Çatānīka and of Udayana figure there also, but their being there is not due to Guṇāḍhya (*cf.* Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, V, 21).

3 *Ep.Ind.*, IV, p. 94.—Idem, gives one inscription of Mallapadeva (çāka 1124), *ibid.* p. 236.

4 *Cf. Ep. Ind.* V. *App.* No. 34, etc.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 364-365.

6 Kathākoça (Tawney). p. 64 sq.

7 This is because Gandhabhadrā had offered a candle to the Jina. The object of the tale is to illustrate the merit one acquires by the kind of offering.

going to have a svayaṃvara in order to marry his daughter Gandharvadattā. He goes there. Gandharvadattā, who plays the lute to perfection, would accept as her husband only the man able to surpass her in that accomplishment. The scene of the svayaṃvara is described at length. Gandharvadattā plays herself as in the Bṛhatkathā; Dīpaçikha follows. The magic of his music is such that it sends the whole audience to sleep. Having won the tournament and wedded Gandharvadattā, he sets out with her to return to his country. The rest of the narrative tells us how he wins three other wives. The first is Līlāvatī, daughter of Karka, king of Paratiṣṭhāna. She has been stung by a serpent and she is going to be cremated. Dīpaçikha brings her to life again by means of the charms he has in his possession. All will agree that this achievement is particularly fitting for Udayana's son. From there he goes to Ujjayinī, rescues Avantinī, daughter of king Avantivardhana, from the hands of a wizard, who was just on the point of immolating her in the exercise of his witchcraft. We have not got the corresponding episode of the Bṛhatkathā, but we know that, somewhere in his work, Guṇāḍhya related the marriage of Naravāhanadatta with the sister of Avantivardhana.* At Padmāvatī, Dīpaçikha weds the daughter of king Mañca, Kāmalatā, who has served him as a medium to overcome Hanumat, for Dīpaçikha is a wizard of a very high order. There the story ends. We see that it has been curtailed as if it were with scissors, from a longer and more important narrative. As far as I can see, it is an abridged imitation of the *lambhaka* of Gandharvadattā and of three others which followed it, precisely that portion of the Bṛhatkathā which is lost.

I do not intend to seek for imitations of the Bṛhatkathā in the literary works. Those that have taken Udayana for their hero are famous. I am not aware of any which have taken Naravāhanadatta, Gomukha, Madanamañjukā or the other original creations of Guṇāḍhya. As for the accessory tales, that search would be useless, as long as we cannot decide for which tales Guṇāḍhya is really responsible.

It would be more interesting to find out what has become of the fanciful kathā in works like the Yaçastilaka of Somadeva-Sūri, who, following the example of the Bṛhatkathā, has made its hero reach the dignity of cakravartin. The filiation, though remote, is beyond doubt, as also that of the Tilakamañjarī of Dhanapāla, but aesthetic taste was no longer what it had been in Guṇāḍhya's time. That study would find place only in a *travail d ensemble* on classic romance. In this Essay, my object has been merely to trace its origin. I will content myself with pointing out that the spirit of the Bṛhatkathā has survived in two works older than the preceding ones: the Daçakumāracarita and the Mṛcchakaṭikā. Daṇḍin has been careful, so that there might be no mistake, to situate his Rājavāhana in the very period when Naravāhanadatta had just ascended the throne of the Vidyādharas and we have already drawn attention to an episode, which seems to have been copied from the Bṛhatkathā.† Daṇḍin has borrowed from Guṇāḍhya neither the

* B.K.Ç.S., I, 61.

† *Supra*, p. 216.

subject matter * of the tales nor the form. For, between Guṇāḍhya and him, as far as we can judge by the versions of the Bṛhatkathā, taste in rhetoric had developed itself, and it would be difficult to admit that the style in Paiçāci, was as refined as it has become later on in Sanskrit. But Daṇḍin owes to Guṇāḍhya the idea of making his heroes roam over the world, king's sons fallen, for the time being, to the level of vagabonds, among a tissue of adventures, where the marvellous is for ever associated with details of ordinary life, in a mixed society where princes jostle against bandits. No doubt it is not real society that is depicted in that work, still the life so depicted is nearer real life than the one depicted in the Vāsavadattā or in the Kādambarī. It reveals to us much better an India, more real, less contemplative, more up and doing, more varied and more joyful to be alive.

The Mṛcchakaṭikā calls for the same remarks. The place and the period take us back to the times of the heroes of the Bṛhatkathā. It is Ujjayinī under the reign of Pālaka, the uncle of Naravāhanadatta. The adventures—for the Mṛcchakaṭikā is only a tale arranged for the stage—belong to the same family as those we find in the Bṛhatkathā. The type of the courtesan in love who, against her own interest, attaches herself to a poor lover is found in the Daçakumāracarita, several times in the Kathāsaritsāgara and no doubt somewhere else also. What is extraordinary is that the Mṛcchakaṭikā should have given Vasantasenā refined feelings and should have shown her to us raised from her state in life, to become, without our delicate feelings being shocked, the lawful wife of Cārudatta. This and other details reveal to me an imitation of the Bṛhatkathā. The description of the eight courtyards and of the garden of Vasantasenā's palace, which are of a disproportionate length in the play are nothing else but, detail for detail, the description of the eight courtyards of Kalingasenā's house, description developed at great length by Gomukha in the account he gives his master of his first visit to the courtesan's house.†

The praises bestowed on the Mṛcchakaṭikā, the most life-like work of the Indian Theatre should be bestowed in a great part on the Bṛhatkathā. Had comedy remained in its own sphere the stage would have gained by it, but it has preferred to become altogether a nāṭakā, with Udayana and his companions as heroes. Always the influence of the Bṛhatkathā one might say.—Yes, with regard to the hero, but not with regard to the manner of treatment. With Udayana as protagonist, we should have been condemned to reproduce for ever the conventional type of the comedy of the harem. It is only what was more artificial in the Bṛhatkathā, which has continued to bear in Indian literature scholastic fruits. What was really life-like has gone back, bit by bit, to the popular tales, but has not been retained in scholarly literature.

* The plan of the Daçakumāracarita seems to have been suggested by the lambhaka of the Bṛhatkathā; the one in which Naravāhanadatta and his friends, being reunited, relate severally their adventures during their separation (*tar.* CVIII gives in the XIV book of the K.S.S.) which is beyond doubt more authentic.

† B.K.Ç.S., X, 60-163. Compare the whole of the second half of act IV of the Mṛcchakaṭikā.

NOTES BY THE AUTHOR

THIS book was already in the press when I came across the "Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara" of Mr. Speyer (Amsterdam, J. Müller, January 1908). The second section of that work, which will prove very valuable, is concerned more especially with the verbal criticism of the Kathāsaritsāgara and consequently is outside the scope of the present Essay. The first section (pages 1–60) is the development of a communication made by Mr. Speyer to the Royal Academy of Amsterdam and was published in 1907 in the *Verslagen en Mededeelingen* of that Academy. I have, in the present work, discussed its conclusions as far as I have deemed it necessary. The *Studies* complete on several points the former work of Mr. Speyer, without altering his theory. One will not be surprised if, in comparing the Kathāsaritsāgara and the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, the study of the same texts has led both of us to make the same observations. Yet, if Mr. Speyer has noticed the incoherence of the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, he seems to have ignored that the incoherence of the Kathāsaritsāgara is as great. I need not insist again on that point which I have already fully discussed. My conclusions are diametrically opposed to those of Mr. Speyer. It is for the reader to make a choice between him and me. But there is one point on which I am very glad to see we are in complete agreement. It is the impossibility for the Bṛhatkathā *in its Cashmerian form* to be very ancient. All the indications of modernity pointed out by Mr. Speyer in the Kathāsaritsāgara (pages 48–56) give a new force to those I have pointed out myself. No need to add that, once we admit the existence of a Cashmerian Bṛhatkathā, those observations are in favour of my thesis.

About the Çlokasaṃgraha of Budhasvāmin, Mr. Speyer basing his deductions on a note of Mr. Hertel already referred to and on an article published by him in the Journal Asiatique (*Une Version nouvelle de la Bṛhatkathā* 1906, I. p. 19 and sq.) formulates some observations (pp. 57–59) which the very text of Budhasvāmin refutes at once. I trust that the mere reading of this text will convince Mr. Speyer. 1st, that we possess the preamble of the Çlokasaṃgraha and that Budhasvāmin has not flung the reader *in medias res*, without any preamble. 2nd, that the work imitated by Budhasvāmin was no more the Bṛhatkathā told *samāsena* than Somadeva's original was the Bṛhatkathā told *vistareṇa*. 3rd, that the division into sargas does not prevent us from admitting in the Çlokasaṃgraha a large division into lambhas no more than the division into taraṃgas in the Kathāsaritsāgara is irreconcilable with that into lambhakas.

Lastly I wish to vindicate myself from the reproach of having called (*Journal Asiatique* 1906, I. p. 32) the Udayanacarita a "Hors d'oeuvre". What I meant was that it was outside the main story—that of Naravāhanadatta—and not that it was

not found in the Bṛhatkathā. Those who have read the present book will have seen that I consider it as an essential element.

In connection with the date of the Bṛhatkathā, I have taken little notice of Mr. Vincent Smith's theory, according to which Hāla's and *consequently Guṇāḍhya's* date would be about 60 or 70 A.D. Mr. Speyer refutes it (*Studies*, pp. 45–48) and is very particular in showing how fragile must be, in the state of our present knowledge, any chronological calculation based on the Purānic lists of the Andhrabhṛtyas. I have thought it was quite sufficient to express my opinion that is altogether illusory to attempt to identify the historical Hāla and the symbolical personage whom tradition has made the protagonist of prākrit poetry and also to show that if the names of Sātavāhana and Guṇāḍhya are found together, it is purely to serve a literary convenience.

A discussion of Mr. Speyer's argument in connection with the date of the Bṛhatkathā can be found in Jarl Charpentier's *Paccekabuddhageschichten* (Uppsala, 1908, pp. 167–171). In the same work there are also (p. 41) several stories on Pradyota (Caṇḍapajjoya) and his quarrels with Domuha of Kampilla and Udayana the Sauvīra. There are interesting resemblances between the tales of the Bṛhatkathā and the jaïnas stories. In the jaïnas tales a confusion has been made between the two Udayanas (Jarl Charpentier, p. 49). The same pedigree is given to both—Jarl Charpentier (l. c.) gives also some information about the statue of the Buddha at Koṣāmbī and he admits (*vide* more particularly p. 150) to direct filiation of the Daçakumāracarita from the Bṛhatkathā.

KOṢĀMBĪ OR KAUṢĀMBĪ, KING UDAYANA'S CAPITAL

THE City of Kauṣāmbī was one of the most celebrated places in ancient India, and its name was famous amongst Brahmins as well as Buddhists. It is mentioned in the Ramayana, and in this celebrated city the Buddha is said to have spent several years of his Buddhahood. Hiouen-Tsang relates that the famous statue of the Buddha in red sandal-wood, which was made by King Udayana during the life time of the Teacher, still existed under a stone dome in the ancient Palace of King Udayana.

The ruins of Koṣāmbī lie, on the Jumna, about 30 miles above Allahabad. They consist of an immense fortress formed of earthen ramparts and bastions with a circuit of 4 miles and 3 furlongs. In name, size and position, they correspond most exactly with the ancient Koṣāmbī ; as it is described by the Chinese pilgrim of the VII Century. The position of the 6 gates can be recognized by the deep depressions in the lines of ramparts. There are two of the openings on each of the three landfaces of the fortress.

The present village Koṣam consists of two distinct portions, named Koṣam Inām and Koṣam Khirāj, the former being on the west and the latter on the east side of the old fortress. Inside the ramparts, and on the bank of the Jumna, there are two small villages called Garhawā Barā and Garhawā Chota. Beyond Koṣam Inām is the large village of Pali and beyond Koṣam Khirāj, on the bank of the Jumna, stands the hamlet of Gop-Sahasā. To the north there is another hamlet called Ambā-Kua, because it possesses a large old well.

At Barā Garhawā have been found two sculptured pillars of a Buddhist railing and the pedestal of a statue inscribed with the well-known Buddhist profession of Faith, in characters of the VIII or IX Century. Those pillars and the inscribed statue Cunningham assigns to the great Vihar in the Palace which contained the famous sandal-wood statue of the Buddha.

At Chota Garhawā has been found a small square pillar sculptured on three faces with a representation of stupas. Cunningham assigns it to the stupa which contained the hair and nails of the Buddha as that stupa was situated on the very site of Chota Garhawā. About midway between the two villages there is a large lingam which shows that the worship of Çiva must have been firmly established at Koṣāmbī. As Hiouen-Tsang mentions the existence of no less than 50 heretical (Brahmanical) temples, Cunningham is of opinion that this large lingam may have belonged to one of those temples. Deora, a great central mass of ruins covered now by a modern Jain temple, seems to be the place where stood the ancient temple which once held the famous statue of the Buddha which was the

great object of veneration at Koṣāmbī. It was devoutly believed to have been made during the life time of the Buddha by a sculptor whom King Udayana was permitted to send up to the *Trayastrinsa* heaven while the Master was explaining the Law to his mother, Maya.

The only other existing relic of Buddhism, inside the Fort, is a large stone monolith similar to those of Allahabad and Delhi, excepting that it bears no ancient inscription, the earliest recorded dating from the age of the Guptas. There is some evidence that it was standing in that very place when Hiouen-Tsang visited Koṣāmbī.

The garden Ghosika was where is now a small village called Gopshasa. There is at present no trace of a garden but in the neighbouring village of Koṣam Khirāj or Hisamabad there are many vestiges of ancient occupation and Cunningham believes it to have been the site of the monasteries built by Aṣoka and mentioned by Hiouen-Tsang.—(*Vol. I of the Archæological Survey of India by Alexander Cunningham, C.S.I.*)

APPENDIX

NEPĀLA-MĀHĀTMYA

XXVII–XXX

(*Guṇāḍhya's Legend*)

The Nepāla-Māhātmya is analysed in S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, I, 201—205.

On the occasion of king Janamejaya's sacrifice many venerable personages are assembled. Mārkaṇḍeya, at Jaimini's request, gives the audience a description of the Holy Places of Nepal. The story of the Bhṛṅgīçvara commences from v. 7 of the adhyāya XXVII. *

XXVII

sūta uvāca

1. mārkaṇḍeyam uṣodbhūtaḥ someçvarasamudbhavam
çrutvā tuṣṭatamo bhūtvā jaiminiḥ paryapṛcchata

jaiminir uvāca

2. mārkaṇḍeya mahābhāga sādhu sādhu munīçvara
3. tvadvaktrāmbujanirjātāṃ kathām amṛtarūpiṇīm
pivato nāsti me tṛptiḥ saṃtoṣaç ca paro 'bhavat
4. somaliṅgasamutpattiṃ daçagrīvakathāçritām
çrutvā me paramas toṣo jātaç ca munisattama
5. anyāny api ca liṅgāni somaliṅgasamāni ca
brahman kathaya me bhūyaḥ çleṣmāntakavane mune
6. iti jaiminivākyena prerito munisattamaḥ
mārkaṇḍeyo mahābhāgaḥ punar ākhyāt kathāṃ çubhāṃ †

mārkaṇḍeya uvāca

7. jaimine'haṃ pravakṣyāmi bhṛṅgīçvarasamudbhavam
yasya çravaṇamātreṇa sarvapāpaiḥ pramucyate
8. purā kailāsaçikhare nānādhātuvicitrite
nānānirjharaṇopete nānādrumasamanvite
9. apsarogaṇasaṃkīrṇe siddhavidyādharānvite
mandākinīsvarṇapadmāsamūhaiç ‡ ca virājite

* Text edited from the copy brought from Nepal by Mr. S. Lévi (*V. Le Népal*, I, 201). As the text has only a documentary value I have not thought it worth while to draw attention to all the faulty readings of the manuscript: There are not a few, but the text can be rectified so easily that we can hardly mention the word "guesswork" in that connection.

† punarakathāçubhām *ms.*

‡ svarṇapadmā = the celestial Gaṅgā.

10. kāmadhenusamākīrṇe kalpadrumasamanvite
nānāpakṣininādena sadā çrutimanohare
11. nānāvidhaiḥ çivagaṇaiḥ samantāt pariveṣṭite
vyāghrānanair biḍālāsyaiḥ çārdūlavadanais tathā
12. apādair bahupādaiç ca hrasvapādais tathaiva ca
akarṇair bahukarṇaiç ca gokarṇaiḥ kharakarṇakaiḥ
13. açvakarṇair uṣṭrakarṇair gajakarṇair mahodaraiḥ
kubjair vāmanakair dīrghair vikaṭair danturais tathā
14. udarāsyair mahāsyaiç ca bajuhastais * tathaiva ca
vāna....staiç ca † hastaçūnyais tathaiva ca
15. evaṃvidhair gaṇais tatra samantāt parivārite
vyāghracarmasamāsīnaṃ çaçāṅkadhavalaṃ çivam
16. vibhūtibhuṣitaṃ tryakṣaṃ paramānandarūpiṇam
suprasannamukhaṃ dṛṣṭvā hasantaṃ mitabhāṣiṇam
17. ekānte girijā devī praṇamya ca kṛtāñjaliḥ
vinayāt paripapraccha kautūhalasamanvitā

pārvatyuvāca

18. devadeva mahādeva çaçāṅkakṛtaçekhara
kathāṃ vicitrāṃ kathaya kasyāpy aviditāṃ prabho
19. tvattaḥ çrutvā kathāṃ citrāṃ sakhīnām agrataḥ prabho
vakṣye'haṃ jagatāṃ nātha tāsāṃ toṣo bhaviṣyati

mārkaṇḍeya uvāca

20. pārvatyā vacanaṃ çrutvā vihasya jagatāṃ patiḥ
nandikeçaṃ samāhūya vacanaṃ cedam abravīt
21. yāvad devyā kathāṃ kurve vicitre mandirottame
dvāre sthitvā nandikeça gaṇān sarvān nivāraya
22. mahādevavacaḥ çrutvā nandikeçaḥ çivājñayā
dvāḥstho bhūtvā gaṇān sarvān vārayāmāsa tatkṣāṇāt
23. tato vicitre bhavane saha devyā maheçvaraḥ
gatvā dattvā kapāṭaṃ ca kathāṃ prāha manoharām
24. etasminn antare bhṛṅgī svakīyaṃ bhavanaṃ yayau
gatvā svabhavanaṃ bhṛṅgī cintayitvā kṣaṇārdhataḥ
25. bhṛṅgarūpaṃ samāsthāya yayau yatra maheçvaraḥ
kapāṭacchidramārgeṇa bhṛṅgī tatra viveça hi
26. pārvatīpurataḥ proktāḥ kathāç cāmṛtasaṃnibhāḥ
pratyahaṃ bhṛṅgarūpeṇa bhṛṅgī çuçrāva tāḥ kathāḥ
27. svastriyai vijayānāmnyai pratyahaṃ tāḥ kathāvarāḥ
kathayāmāsa bhṛṅgī vai mahādevamukhāc chrutāḥ
28. ekadā girijā devī vicitrāsanasaṃsthitā
vijayādyāḥ sakhīḥ sarvāḥ provāca smitapūrvakam

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* Correct bahuhastais ?
† vānasyaiçca *ms.*

29. kathayāmi kathāṃ divyāṃ kayāpi hi na vā çrutām
kṛtāñjalipuṭāḥ procur jayādyā girijāṃ tadā
30. ājñāpaya mahādevi daityadarpaniṣūdani
iti tāsāṃ vacaḥ çrutvā girijā haravaktrataḥ
31. nirgatāṃ kathayāmāsa paramānandatas tadā
sakhīmadhyāt samutthāya vijayā prāha caṇḍikām
32. mayāpi jñāyate devi katheyaṃ tvatprasādataḥ
kathayāmi kathām uktā viprāvadat kathām
33. vijayāvaktrataḥ çrutvā kathāṃ sā haravallabhā
duḥkhitābhūt samutthāya yayau ca harasaṃnidhau
34. atīvaduḥkhitāṃ dṛṣṭvā çaṃkaraḥ prāṇavallabhām
provāca snehapūrvaṃ hi viṣaṇṇāsi kathaṃ priye
35. iti çaṃbhuvacaḥ çrutvā provāca girijā ruṣā
sphuradoṣṭhapuṭadvandvā vepamānā muhur muhuḥ
36. mahādeva na jānāmi hṛdayaṃ kuṭilaṃ tava
uktā kathā yā bhavatā saṃgopanapareṇa ca
37. madagre jagatāṃ nātha tāṃ veda vijayāpi ca
sakhīnāṃ agrato lajjā mama jātā maheçvara
38. iti tasyā vacaḥ çrutvā provāca girijāṃ haraḥ
mā viṣādaṃ varārohe yāvad dhyānaṃ karomy aham

mārkaṇḍeya uvāca

39. iti uktvā girijānātho dadhyau tasmin kṣaṇe mune
dhyātvā tu kāraṇaṃ jñātvā cāhūya bhṛṅgiṇaṃ çivaḥ
40. krodhasaṃraktanayanaḥ çaçāpāçu sa bhṛṅgiṇam
tvayā kapaṭapūrvaṃ hi bhṛṅgarūpeṇa cādhama
41. raho vārttā çrutā yasmād devyāgreca * mayoditā
ato dhvaṃseti kailāsān mānuṣo bhawa sarvathā
42. çāpaṃ sudāruṇam labdhvā bhṛṅgī devān maheçvarāt
daṇḍavat praṇipatyāgre vacanaṃ cedam abravīt

bhṛṅgy uvāca

43. ajānatā mayā deva caritaṃ vipriyaṃ tava
kṣantavyo me 'parādhas tu devadeva maheçvara
44. mandasya mama duṣṭasya cāparādhāḥ pade pade
antareṇa mahādevaṃ kaḥ sahetāparaḥ prabhuḥ

mārkaṇḍeya uvāca

45. iti bhṛṅgivacaḥ çrutvā mahādevaḥ kṛpānidhiḥ
uvāca bhṛṅgin me vākyam na kadāpi mṛṣā bhavet
46. pṛthivyāṃ dakṣiṇo bhūtvā vidyāvān dhārmikaḥ kṛtī
navalakṣamitā gāthāḥ kṛtvā rasasamanvitāḥ
47. çivaliṅgaṃ hi saṃsthāpya kṣetre paramadurlabhe
mānuṣyaṃ hi parityajya kailāsaṃ punar eṣyasi

* An akṣara is missing as noted in the *ms*.

48. iti çaṃkaravākyānte bhṛṅgī paramaduḥkhitaḥ
patitaḥ pṛthivīmadhye svāparādhena jaimine
49. putro 'bhūd viṣṇudattasya mathurāyāṃ sutejasaḥ
jātakarmādikaṃ cāsya pitā cakre samāhitaḥ
50. guṇāḍhya iti tannāma pṛthivyāṃ prathitaṃ tadā
51. papāṭha sakalā vidyā mune vyākaraṇādikāḥ
sa sarvaçāstravettābhūd guṇāḍhyo dvijasattamaḥ
52. pitary uparate so 'tha guṇāḍhyo guṇasamyutaḥ
yayāv ujjayanīṃ dhīro madano yatra bhūpatiḥ
53. ācāryaḥ çarvavarmābhūn madanadvāripaṇḍitaḥ
sa parīkṣya mahābuddhiṃ guṇāḍhyaṃ kṛtipaṇḍitam
54. kathayāmāsa bhūpāya çarvavarmā budhottamaḥ
yathārthanāmā nṛpate guṇāḍhyo 'yaṃ dvijottamaḥ
55. yogyo 'yaṃ bhavato dvārivṛttir asmai pradīyatām
çarvavarmavacaḥ çrutvā rājñāçu sthāpito dvijaḥ
56. dvāre madanabhūpasya paṇḍitau sarvadā sthitau
mune madanabhūpasya bhāryābhūd atisundarī
57. bhāryā līlāvatī veda vidyā vyākaraṇādikāḥ
rājā vyākaraṇaṃ naiva jānāti munipuṃgava
58. ekadā grīṣmasamaye gharmārto madano nṛpaḥ
līlāvatīsamāyukto jalakrīḍāṃ cakāra hi
59. jalāñjalipradānena parasparam abhīkṣṇaçaḥ
cikrīḍatur daṃpatī tau sakhībhiḥ parivāritau
60. jalāñjaliprapātena khinnā līlāvatī patim
prāha nātha pariçrāntā modakaṃ dehi sarvathā
61. prastāvasadṛçaṃ vākyam abuddhvā nṛpatis tadā
laḍūkan * dāpayāmāsa nānārasasamanvitān
62. etādṛçaṃ patiṃ buddhvā jñānaçūnyaṃ mune tadā
līlāvatī jahāsoccair viṣaṇṇā cābhavat kṣaṇāt
63. uccair hāsasamāyuktāṃ viṣaṇṇāṃ tadanantaram
vrīḍito 'bhūn narapatir madano munipuṃgava
64. ekānte çarvavarmāṇam ācāryaṃ paṇḍitottamam
guṇāḍhyaṃ ca tathāhūya rājā vacanam abravīt

rājovāca

65. matpaṇḍitāv ubhāv eva bhavantau guṇasaṃyutau
mayā jalavihāre 'dya lajjā labdhā kalatrataḥ
66. prāha līlāvatī māṃ tu modakaṃ dehi bhūpate
iti tasyā vacaḥ çrutvā tato 'haṃ dvijasattamau
67. modakānāṃ sahasraṃ hi dade tasyai kṣaṇārdhataḥ
sā jahāsa tadā rājñī viṣaṇṇā cābhavat kṣaṇāt

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* laḍūkān *sic ms.*

68. tato viṣādo me jāto lajjā ca mahatī punaḥ
ko 'rtho modakaçabdasya bhaved brāhmaṇasattamau
iti skandapurāṇe himavatkhaṇḍe nepālamāhātmye saptaviṃçatitamo 'dhyāyaḥ

XXVIII

mārkaṇḍeya uvāca
1. iti tasya vacaḥ çrutvā bhūpater dvijasattamau
ūcatur yuktimad vākyaṃ bhūpatiṃ vākyakovidau
2. çarvavarmaguṇāḍhyāvūcatuḥ
rājan * līlāvatī rājñī gauḍabhūpasya kanyakā
sā vidyā vividhā veda kāvyavyākaraṇādikāḥ
3. udakaṃ mā prayaccheti tayoktaṃ nṛpasattama
apāṃ vihāre bhavatā prastāvo nāvadhāritaḥ
4. atas tayāvahasitaṃ nānyad astīha kāraṇam
evaṃ vacas tayoḥ çrutvā madanaḥ prāha tau punaḥ
5. kālena kiyatā viprau jñānaṃ vyākaraṇe mama
bhaveta vipraçārdūlāv eṣa me saṃçayo mahān
6. iti tasya vacaḥ çrutvā guṇāḍhyaḥ prāha bhūpatim
guṇāḍhya uvāca
7. abdair dvādaçabhir bhūpa jñānaṃ vyākaraṇe tava
ahaṃ hi kārayiṣyāmi nātra kāryā vicāraṇā
8. guṇāḍhyavacanaṃ çrutvā çarvavarmā budhāgraṇīḥ
rājānaṃ prāha rājendra jñānaṃ vyākaraṇe tava
9. varṣadvayena saṃpūrṇaṃ kārayiṣyāmy ahaṃ kila
iti tasya vacaḥ çrutvā bhūpatiḥ prāha taṃ punaḥ
rājovāca
10. yadi varṣadvayenaiva jñānaṃ vyākaraṇe mama
kārayiṣyasi viprendra rājyasyārdhaṃ dadāmi te
mārkaṇḍeya uvāca
11. evaṃ tayor vacaḥ çrutvā guṇāḍhyaḥ prāha bhūpatim
guṇāḍhya uvāca
12. yadi varṣadvayeṇaiva jñānaṃ vyākaraṇe tava
çarvavarmā kārayati tadā çāstraṃ tyajāmy aham
13. tubhyaṃ dattvā hi sarvasvaṃ yāsyāmi gahanaṃ khalu
saṃskṛtasya parityāgaṃ yāvajjīvam karomy aham
14. iti tasya vacaḥ çrutvā çarvavarmā dvijottamaḥ
pratijñāpūrvakam prāha guṇāḍhyam guṇabhūṣitham
15. yadi varṣadvayād arvāg jñānam vyākaraṇe dṛḍham
na çakyate mayā kartuṃ narendrasya dvijottama

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* rājan *sic ms.*

16. yāvajjīvaṃ parityāgaṃ saṃskṛtasya karomy aham
sarvasvaṃ bhavate dattvā yāsyāmi gahanaṃ dhruvam
17. iti pratijñām kṛtvā 'hi samutthāya gṛham yayau
rātrāv ārādhayāmāsa kumāraṃ haranandanam
18. dhūpair dīpaiç ca naivedyaiḥ parāṃ bhaktiṃ samāçritaḥ
prasannaç ca kumāro 'bhūn niçīthe çarvavarmaṇe
19. taṃ vilokya namaç cakre çarvavarmā dvijottamaḥ
vinataṃ tam samālokya provāca haranandanaḥ
kumāra uvāca
20. varaṃ varaya viprendra prasanno 'smi na saṃçayaḥ
kumāravākyam ākarṇya çarvavarmāvadat punaḥ
çarvavarmovāca
21. yadi prasanno 'si deva svalpaṃ vyākaraṇaṃ tadā
dehi me madano yena paṇḍito bhavati dhruvam
22. iti tasya vacaḥ çrutvā kumāro 'mitavikramaḥ
kalāpākhyaṃ vyākaraṇaṃ dadau kṛtvā dvijanmane
23. ācāryo 'pi tad ādāya pustakaṃ madanaṃ nṛpam
pāṭhayām āsa yatnena paṇḍito madano 'bhavat
24. madanasya dṛḍhaṃ jñānaṃ dṛṣṭvā vyākaraṇe tadā
guṇāḍhyo rañjito bhūtvā sarvasvaṃ çarvavarmaṇe
25. dattvā tyaktvā saṃskṛtaṃ ca jagāma gahanaṃ khalu
tatrāçramaṃ vidhāyāçu guṇāḍhyo 'py atisundaram
26. vibhūtibhūṣito nityaṃ jaṭājūṭasamanvitaḥ
rudrākṣamālayā nityaṃ çivanāma jajāpa hi
27. ekadā hy āçrame tasya pulastyo munisattamaḥ
samāgato daivayogān munibhiḥ parivāritaḥ
28. tam āgatam abhiprekṣya pulastyam ṛṣisattamam
pratyudyayāv ādareṇa guṇāḍhyo guṇasaṃyutaḥ
29. āsane taṃ samāveçya pādyādibhir atho mune
guṇāḍhyaḥ pūjayām āsa munīn api yatavratān
30. tato viçrāntam āsīnaṃ pulastyaṃ munisaṃyutam
guṇāḍhyaḥ paripapraccha bhāṣayānaṭakaṃdharaḥ
guṇāḍhya uvāca
31. sarvā * kathā me viditā bhavato munisattama
nistāras tu kathaṃ me syāt tad ācakṣva dayānidhe
mārkaṇḍeya uvāca
32. iti tasya vacaḥ çrutvā pulastyo dhātṛnandanaḥ
guṇāḍhyaṃ punar evāha sarvajño munisattamaḥ
pulastya uvāca
33. piçācabhāṣayā gāthā navalakṣamitāḥ kuru
tato hi parame pīṭhe nepālākhye manohare

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* Sarvā *sic. ms.*

34. çivaliṅgaṃ sthāpayitvā vipra mokṣam avāpsyasi
ity uktvā svāçramaṃ yāto munibhiḥ parivāritaḥ
35. pulastyo brahmaṇaḥ putro jaimine munisattama
tato guṇāḍhyo guṇavān pattrāṇy ādāya çākhinām
36. dhātubhir vililekhāçu kṛtvā gāthā manoharāḥ
papāṭha ca svayaṃ gāthā guṇāḍhyo guṇisattamaḥ
37. gāthāḥ çrutvā hi paçavo guṇāḍhyaracitās tadā
āhāraṃ hi parityajya tasthus tasyāçrame sadā
38. yadā jajāpa hi mune guṇāḍhyo guṇināṃ varaḥ
tadā hi paçavaḥ sarve grāsānveṣaṇatatparāḥ
39. vyādho hatvā mṛgāṃs tāṃs tu madanasya mahīpateḥ
dadau hi sūpakārebhyaḥ pecus te 'pi tadā mune
40. nīrasaṃ hi palaṃ bhuktvā nṛpaḥ prāha ca pācakān

rājovāca

41. kathaṃ çuṣkāṇi māṃsāni mahyaṃ dattāni pācakāḥ
iti tasya vacaḥ çrutvā procus te pācakā nṛpam
42. vyādhair āhṛtāni māṃsāny asmābhiḥ saṃskṛtāni ca
pācakasya vacaḥ çrutvā vyādhān āhūya pārthivaḥ
43. jagāda hetunā kena çuṣkamāṃsam upāhṛtam
iti bhūpavacaḥ çrutvā vyādhāḥ procur bhayāturāḥ
44. durbalā hariṇāḥ sarve vane jātā nareçvara
kāraṇaṃ tu na jānīmo yena te durbalā mṛgāḥ
45. vyādhānaṃ vacanaṃ çrutvā vyādhān prāha nareçvaraḥ
jñāyatāṃ kāraṇaṃ vyādhā yena te durbalā mṛgāḥ
46. iti bhūpavacaḥ çrutvā yayur vyādhā vanaṃ tadā
gatvā tadāçramaṃ ramyaṃ guṇāḍhyam dadṛçus tadā
47. kṛtvā gāthāḥ paṭhantam ca jaṭilam çmaçrusamyutam
gāthāç ca çṛṇvatas tathā paçūṃç ca dadṛçus tadā
48. gāthāḥ çrutvātha te tasthus tatraiva vipine mune
cakāra bhojanam rājā tadā māmsavivarjitam
49. sūpakārāṃç ca papraccha kopasaṃraktalocanaḥ

rājovāca

50. katham adya samānītaṃ bhojanam māmsavarjitam
ity ākarṇya narendrasya vacaḥ kopasamanvitam
51. sūpakārās tadā procur mune prāñjalayo nṛpam

sūpakārā ūcuḥ

52. māmsārtham vipinam ye ye vyādhā yānti nareçvara
na te hi vinivartante yamalokam gatā iva
53. iti teṣāṃ vacaḥ çrutvā rājā buddhimatām varaḥ
çarvavarmācāryayuto jagāma vipinam tadā
54. sa dadarça nṛpo dhīram guṇāḍhyam guṇinām varam
kathayantaṃ kathāç citrā nānāçcaryasamanvitāḥ

55. tatkathāçravaṇāmodatyaktagrāsān paçūms tadā
dadarça durbalān bhūpo medomāmsavivarjitān
56. ātmanaç ca rasotpattiṃ jñātvā bhūpatisattamaḥ
vavande guṇināṃ çreṣṭhaṃ guṇāḍhyaṃ dharmatatparaḥ
57. guṇāḍhyo'pi tato dṛṣṭvā çarvavarmāṇam āgatam
nanāma gurave dhīro dadau bhūpāya cāçiṣam
58. cakāra vidhivat pūjāṃ tayor dvijanarendrayoḥ
tato narapatiḥ prāha çarvavarmamate sthitaḥ
59. guṇāḍhya yāmo nagaraṃ yathāpūrvaṃ sthitiṃ kuru
iti bhūpativākyānte guṇāḍhyaḥ prāha bhūpatim
guṇāḍhya uvāca
60. jānāmi sarvaṃ nṛpate tavāsmīti nigadyate
piçācabhāṣayā rājan kṛtā gāthā manoharāḥ
61. navalakṣamitās tās tvaṃ saṃskṛtena likhāpaya
ahaṃ yāsyāmi nepālaṃ kṣetrāṇāṃ kṣetram uttamam
62. ity uktvā prayayau yāni çākhipattrāṇi jaimine
ādāya tāni nṛpatiḥ svakīyāṃ nagarīṃ yayau
63. tadā yayau guṇāḍhyo 'pi çleṣmāntakavanaṃ mune
iti skandapurāṇe himavatkhaṇḍe nepālamāhātmye aṣṭāviṃçatitamo 'dhyāyaḥ

XXIX

jaiminir uvāca
1. nepālakṣetram āsādya guṇāḍhyena mahātmanā
kim akāri mahābhāga tad ācakṣva puro mama
sūta uvāca
2. iti jaiminivākyānte mārkaṇḍeyas tapodhanaḥ
guṇāḍhyacaritaṃ sarvaṃ jaiminiṃ prāha çaunaka
mārkaṇḍeya uvāca
3. nepālakṣetram āsādya guṇāḍhyo dvijasattamaḥ
vāgmatyāḥ salile snātvā dṛṣṭvā paçupatīçvaram
4. kṣetrapradakṣiṇaṃ kṛtvā liṅgaṃ saṃsthāpya yatnataḥ
āruroha tato bhṛṅgī kailāsaṃ parvatottamam
jaiminir uvāca
5. bhṛṅgiṇā muniçārdūla kathaṃ kṣetrapradakṣiṇam
kṛtaṃ tadvidhim ācakṣva liṅgasaṃsthāpakaṃ vidhim
mārkaṇḍeya uvāca
6. kṣetrapradakṣiṇavidhiḥ çrūyatām munisattama
kṣetrapradakṣiṇaṃ kṛtvā naraḥ pāpaiḥ pramucyate
7-69. Descriptions of the pilgrim's itinerary (*Vide* detailed analysis in S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, I, p. 387-391).
iti skandapurāṇe himavatkhaṇḍe nepālamāhātmye ūnatriṃço 'dhyāyaḥ

XXX

jaiminir uvāca

1. bhavaduktaprakāreṇa kṛtvā kṣetrapradakṣiṇaṃ
kathaṃ saṃsthāpitaṃ liṅgaṃ bhṛṅgiṇā tad bravīhi me

mārkaṇḍeya uvāca

2. kṣetrapradakṣiṇaṃ kṛtvā guṇāḍhyo guṇināṃ varaḥ
āhūya ca munīn sarvān nepālakṣetravāsinaḥ
3. guhyeçvarīsaṃnidhisthān vacchalāpārçvasaṃsthitān
çaṃkhamūlasthitaṃç cāpi kumbheçasaṃnidhisthitān
4. sthitān paçupateḥ pārçve tadā dolāgiristhitān
hanumattīrthasaṃsthāṃç ca tathā vāgīçvarasthitān
5. caṇḍeçvarīsaṃnidhisthān vajrāsaṃnidhivāsinaḥ
mṛgendraçikharasthāṃç ca viṣṇumatyudbhavasthitān
6. āçāpūreçvarasthāṃç ca ḍoleçvaranivāsināḥ
bhārabhūteçvarasthāṃç ca gopāleçvarasaṃsthitān
7. ityādinānātīrthasthāṃs tāpasān vijitendriyān
teṣāṃ saṃmatim ādāya vedoktavidhinā tathā
8. liṅgasaṃsthāpakaṃ karma prārebhe homapūrvakam
tataḥ pravavṛdhe yajño guṇāḍhyasya mahātmanaḥ
9. dīyatāṃ guhyatāṃ* caiva jāto hi ninado mahān
maruttasya yathā yajño yathā dāçarather api
10. tathaiva yajño vavṛdhe guṇāḍhyasya mahātmanaḥ
homānte sthāpayām āsa çivaliṅgaṃ dvijottama
11. kṛtāñjalipuṭo bhūtvā guṇāḍhyo guṇināṃ varaḥ
provāca tāpasān sarvān vinayānatakaṃdharaḥ

guṇāḍhya uvāca

12. çṛṇvantu brāhmaṇāḥ sarve çivaliṅgasya tāpasāḥ
kiṃ nāmadheyaṃ vartavyaṃ tat samākhyātum arhatha
13. guṇāḍhyavacanam çrutvā munīnām agratas tatha
hārīto nāma viprarṣir guṇāḍhyaṃ prāha dhārmikam

hārīta uvāca

14. guṇāḍhya çrūyatāṃ vākyaṃ na tvaṃ prākṛtamānuṣaḥ
hetunā kena cic chaptaḥ çaṃbhunā † pūrvajanmani
15. bhṛṅgī te nāma çaṃbhos tvaṃ sarvadā dvārapālakaḥ
ato bhṛṅgīçvaraṃ nāma kuru liṅgasya sarvathā

mārkaṇḍeya uvāca

16. hārītasya vacaḥ çrutvā prāha vedaçirā muniḥ

vedaçirā uvāca

17. idaṃ bhṛṅgīçvaraṃ liṅgaṃ vadantu dvāpare yuge
sparçapāṣāṇajaṃ ‡ liṅgaṃ yato bhṛṅgīçvarābhidham

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* gṛhyatām ?

† For the declension of çambhu, *cf.* 53 : çambhunā, et 54 : çambhum.

‡ sparçapāṣāṇa = sparçamaṇi;-ja = -prabhava, "or"

18. ataḥ kaliyuge lokā suvarṇeçvarasaṃjñitam
vadiṣyanti muniçreṣṭhāḥ sarvakāmapradaṃ sadā
mārkaṇḍeya uvāca
19. tato guṇāḍhyo guṇavān *. . govastrakāñcanaiḥ
brāhmaṇāṃs toṣayām āsa guṇaçreṣṭhapuraḥsaram
20. tataḥ papāta gaganāt puṣpavṛṣṭir manoharā
devadundubhayo nedur nanṛtuç cāpsarogaṇāḥ
21. vavau vāyuḥ sukhasparço gandharvā lalitaṃ jaguḥ
munīnāṃ paçyatāṃ tatra vṛṣayānaṃ † manoharam
22. vimānam āgataṃ tatra nānāçcaryasamanvitam
rudrarūpadharaiḥ çreṣṭhair gaṇeçvarair adhiṣṭhitam
23. tad āçcaryaṃ mahad dṛṣṭvā sarve saṃbhrāntamānasāḥ
uttasthur munayaḥ sarve yugapad dharṣasaṃyutāḥ
24. avatīrya vimānāt tu tato rudragaṇā mune
procur munigaṇān harṣād bhasmarudrākṣadhāriṇaḥ
25. triçūlaṃ dhāriṇo gauraṃ jaṭāmukuṭadhāriṇaḥ
locanatrayasaṃyuktā divyāḍamarupāṇayaḥ
rudragaṇā ūcuḥ
26. bhavanto munayaḥ sarve vedavedāṅgapāragāḥ
āsaneṣu samāsīnāḥ çṛṇudhvaṃ vacanaṃ mama
27. evaṃ gaṇavacaḥ çrutvā hārītaḥ prāha tān gaṇān
hārīta uvāca
28. rudrarūpadharāḥ sarve tejasā bhāskaropamāḥ
upaviçya bhavanto 'pi kathāṃ kurvantu sarvathā
mārkaṇḍeya uvāca
29. upaviçya gaṇāḥ sarve kathāḥ procur manoharāḥ
rudragaṇā ūcuḥ
30. yo devaḥ sarvadevānāṃ deveṣu parigīyate
yena sṛṣṭaṃ jagat sarvaṃ yaḥ pāti sakalaṃ jagat
31. saṃhatya pratibhūtāni sa devaḥ parameçvaraḥ
vedā api na jānanti yaṃ rudram upamārthataḥ
32. īhante ke guṇān vaktuṃ tasya sarvātmano vibhoḥ
paramātmasvarūpeṇa vartate sarvajantuṣu
33. nityānandamayaḥ sākṣāt sa devaḥ kevalo vibhuḥ
nirguṇo dehavān yo 'pi sarvago na hi gocaraḥ
34. yasyāntaṃ naiva jānanti brahmā harir api svayam
sa devaç cinmayaḥ ‡ sākṣāt sarvavyāpī maheçvaraḥ
35. kṛpayā yasya devasya vāsavādyāḥ surā api
saṃprāptā lokapālatvaṃ sa devo girijāpatiḥ
36. çmaçāne vasatir yasya lalāṭe yasya candramāḥ
vāmaṅke girijā yasya sa yad āha çṛṇuṣva tat

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* A gap as noted in the *ms.* † *sic ms.* ‡ *sic ms.*

api duṣkṛtakarmāpi yo liṅgaṃ sthāpayen naraḥ
mucyate sarvapāpebhyo nātra kāryā vicāraṇā
38. helayā kapaṭenāpi çobhayā manujottamāḥ
dhārayanti ca rudrākṣaṃ teṣām pāpaṃ na vidyate
39. vibhūtibhūṣitā ye vai ye ca rudrākṣadhāriṇaḥ
liṅgasaṃsthāpakā ye ca te syuḥ kailāsavāsinaḥ
40. malliṇgapūjanaratā mannāmagrahaṇe ratāḥ
matpuṣpavāṭikartāras * te syuḥ kailāsavāsinaḥ
41. arkadhustūrapuṣpaiç ca ......† thā jalaiḥ
māṃ pūjayanti manujās te syuḥ kailāsagāminaḥ
42. api duṣkṛtakarmāpi yukto vā sarvapātakaiḥ
liṅgasaṃsthāpanād eva mucyate nātra samçayaḥ
43. helayā paritrāsena ‡ saṃketenāpi mānavāḥ
mannāmagrahaṇe yuktā mucyante ghorakilbiṣāt
44. ayaṃ tu guṇavāṅl loke guṇāḍhyo lokapūjitaḥ
ācāravān yogayukto vedavedāṅgapāragaḥ
45. vidyāvān vijayādhāraḥ svādhyāyī devapūjakaḥ
viçeṣato hi madbhakto mannāmagrahaṇe ratah
46. asya prākkulakaṃ janma çṛṇvantu munayo dhruvam
ayam kila purā bhṛṇgī nanditulyo mahābalaḥ
47. maddvārapālako nityaṃ mama rūpadharaḥ sadā
ekasmin divase devyā mayā ca rahasi sthitaṃ
48. kurvatā hi kathās tatra nānārasasamanvitāḥ
tatrānena samāsthāya bhṛṅgarūpaṃ hi durdhiyā
49. āgatya hi çrutāḥ sarvāḥ kathā maṇmukhanirgatāḥ
kathās tāḥ kathayām āsa svapatnyai rasasaṃyutāḥ
50. etaj jṇātvā mayā çaptaḥ kailāsāt patito hy ayam
etasya sarvaṃ caritaṃ jñātvāntaryāminā tadā
51. çapto 'sau devadevena tato mānuṣatām agāt
labdhvā viprakule janma guṇāḍhyo guṇināṃ varaḥ
52. ṇavalakṣamitā gāthāḥ kṛtvā rasasamanvitāḥ
nepāle parame kṣetre devānām api durlabhe
53. liṇgaṃ samsthāpayāṃ āsa çivasyānugraho bhavet
vimānaṃ preṣitaṃ divyam devadevena çambhunā
54. ehi vipra guṇāḍhya tvam vimānādhiṣṭhito bhava
sahaiva yāma kailāsaṃ çambhum adya prapaçyasi
mārkaṇḍeya uvāca
55. evaṃ gaṇavacaḥ crutvā guṇāḍhyo guṇisattamaḥ
munīnām tatra çṛṇvatām........§
caṇḍamupā uvāca
56. ādāv eva hi saṃproktaṃ hārītena tapasvinā
sevako devadevasya na tvam prākṛtamānuṣaḥ

* vāṭi *sic ms.*
† A gap as noted in the *ms.*
‡ Parisena *ms.*
§ çṛṇvatām caṇḍamupā uvāca *ms.*

57. nepāle paramakṣetre liṅgaṃ saṃsthāpitaṃ tvayā
çāpāntas tena te jātas tuṣṭo 'bhūt pārvatīpatiḥ
58. vimānavaram āruhya yāhi paçya maheçvaram
āçīrvāde dvijātīnām çīghraṃ paçya maheçvaram
mārkaṇḍeya uvāca
59. iti çrutvā muner vākyaṃ guṇāḍhyo dvijasattamān
āmantryādhirurohāçu vimānam atisundaram
60. jayadhvanis tato jāto munīnāṃ vadanodgataḥ
papāta khāt puṣpavṛṣṭir vidyādharakaracyutā
61. devadundubhayo nedur nanṛtuç cāpsarogaṇāḥ
vavau vāyuḥ sukhasparço gandharvā lalitaṃ jaguḥ
62. vimānasparçamātreṇa guṇāḍhyo guṇināṃ varaḥ
tryakṣarūpadhāro bhūtvā kailāsaṃ prayayau tadā
63. evaṃ te kathito vipra bhṛṅgīçvarasamudbhavaḥ
bhṛṅgīçvarasamaṃ liṅgaṃ na bhūtaṃ na bhaviṣyati
64. bhṛṅgīçvaraṃ ye paçyanti nepāle kṣetrasattame
teṣāṃ manorathāvāptir bhaviṣyati na saṃçayaḥ
65. bhṛṅgīçvaraṃ ye paçyanti bhaktiyuktena cetasā
teṣāṃ dāsyati kailāsaṃ bhagavāṃ pārvatīpatiḥ
66. aṣṭamyāṃ vā caturdaçyāṃ saṃkrāntidivase tathā
bhṛṅgīçvaram ye drakṣyanti te yāsyanti parāṃ gatim
67. ṣaṇmāsaṃ pratyahaṃ dṛṣṭvā devaṃ bhṛṅgīcvaraṃ mudā
vidyāvāñ jāyate vipraḥ kavīnām agraṇīr bhavet
68. vandhyāpi niyame dṛṣṭvā çīghraṃ garbham avāpnuyāt
bhṛṅgīçvarasya sevāto daridro dhanam āpnuyāt
69. adyāpi bhṛṅgarūpeṇa bhṛṅgī parvaṇi parvaṇi
samāyāti mune draṣṭuṃ liṅgaṃ bhṛṅgīçvarābhidham
70. çrutvādhyāyam imaṃ puṇyaṃ bhṛṅgīçvarasamudbhavam
dvijo vidyām avāpnoti varṣād arvāṅ na saṃçayaḥ
71. asya çravaṇamātreṇa kṣatriyo vijayī bhavet
mahatīṃ çriyam āpnoti narendrāṇāṃ sudurlabhām
72. çrutvādhyāyam imaṃ puṇyaṃ mahāpātakanāçanam
vaiçyo dhanasamṛddhaḥ syān mahādharmam avāpnuyāt
73. çrutvādhyāyam imaṃ puṇyaṃ çūdraḥ sadgatim āpnuyāt
sūta uvāca
74. iti nepālamāhātmyaṃ mārkaṇḍeyas tapodhanaḥ
kathayitvā dvijātibhyaḥ sāyaṃsaṃdhyām upāsitum
75. yayau çiṣyagaṇaiḥ sārdhaṃ vibhāvasur ivāparaḥ
anye 'pi munayaḥ sarve yayuḥ saṃdhyām upāsitum
76. idaṃ nepālamāhātmyaṃ guhyam atyantadurlabham
gopanīyaṃ prayatnena dhārmikāya prakāçayet
iti skandapurāṇe himavatkhaṇḍe nepālamāhātmye triṃço 'dhyāyaḥ

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